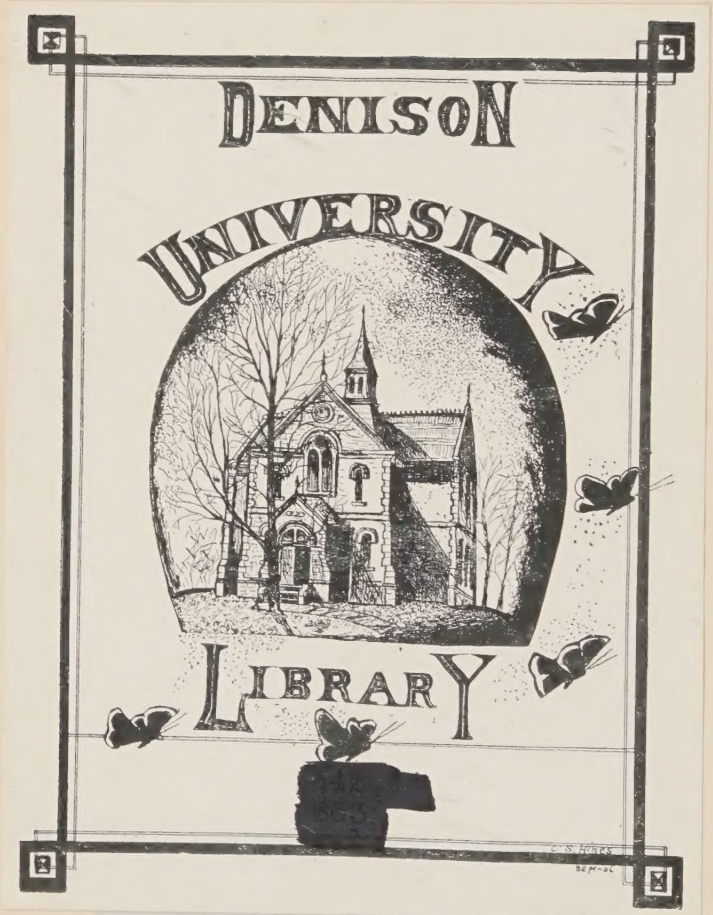
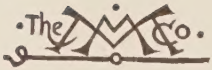

DENISON
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/france0001john

FRANCE


The MM Co.

19393

FRANCE

BY

JOHN EDWARD COURTENAY BODLEY

VOLUME I

INTRODUCTION

BOOK I—THE REVOLUTION AND MODERN FRANCE

BOOK II—THE CONSTITUTION AND THE CHIEF OF THE STATE

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

New York

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

LONDON: MACMILLAN & CO., LTD.

1898

All rights reserved

Copyright, 1898,
By THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.

HAMILTON UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY
CLINTON, N.Y.

Norwood Press
J. S. Cushing & Co. — Berwick & Smith
Norwood Mass. U.S.A.

To My Sons

RONALD VICTOR COURTENAY BODLEY

AND

JOSSELIN REGINALD COURTENAY BODLEY

On their Mother's Birthday

SEPTEMBER 25, 1897

CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE ix

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE xiii

INTRODUCTION 1

BOOK I

THE REVOLUTION AND MODERN FRANCE

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF THE REVOLUTION . . . 67

CHAPTER II

LIBERTY 127

CHAPTER III

EQUALITY 167

CHAPTER IV

FRATERNITY AND PATRIOTISM 213

BOOK II

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE CHIEF OF THE STATE

CHAPTER I

PAGE

THE CONSTITUTION 261

CHAPTER II

THE CHIEF OF THE STATE 271

INDEX TO VOLUME I 333

PREFACE

I TAKE this opportunity of rendering my thanks to the many French people of all classes and of all shades of opinion who for more than seven years have in manifold ways helped me in my work. Some of them are mentioned incidentally in the Introductory Chapter, but it would be impossible to name all those to whom I am indebted for ideas, for facilities in pursuing my studies, and for innumerable kind offices. I have to offer my special gratitude to three distinguished Frenchmen who, between them, have found time to read nearly all the proofs of these volumes : — M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, the eminent Economist and Member of the Institute ; M. Richard Waddington, Senator of the Seine Inférieure, the accomplished historian of the Seven Years' War, whom we can partly claim, as not only was he educated at Rugby like his lamented brother, whom we all knew at Albert Gate, but he was also an officer of our Royal Horse Artillery ; and M. Camille Barère, French Ambassador at Berne, who is equally familiar with our language. It is needless to say that those high authorities are not responsible for any of the opinions expressed in this book, as on important matters of public policy they differ from one another. Their verification of facts and their general criticisms have, however, been of the highest value.

The capital subject of these volumes is Political France after a Century of Revolution. The plan of the work needs little explanation. The Introductory Chapter is not an essential part of it, but it may be of utility, as it contains a description of the influences encountered by a student of public questions in France. The relations of the great Revolution with modern France are then examined, and this gives an opportunity of a view of certain phases of French life which would otherwise be neglected in a political treatise. The Executive and Legislative Powers are the special matters which form the basis of the remainder of the work. Their operation under the régime which has subsisted in France during the last quarter of the nineteenth century leads to the study of various conceptions which the French have had, during a hundred years of political experiment, of the functions of a Chief of the State and of Parliamentary Institutions. I do not think that I need apologise for having treated those important subjects in minute detail.

In this swift age of handbooks two volumes may seem a slender result of seven years' uninterrupted labour; but those who have seriously studied problems of government will recognise that the time which has been devoted to the questions dealt with here is not excessive. Moreover, I may say that with half the labour expended on these pages I could have produced three or four years ago, three or four volumes examining much less thoroughly the same subjects. During the final stages of my work I have often realised the profound wisdom of Pascal's famous ending of his sixteenth *Lettre Provinciale*: "Je n'ai fait celle-ci plus longue que parce que je n'ai pas eu le loisir de la faire plus courte."

To properly understand the relations of modern France with the Revolution, and the working of its political institutions, it has been necessary to study with attentive care a number of subjects referred to only incidentally in these volumes. It, however, seemed better to confine the actual scope of this work to the two themes mentioned above than to add a third volume on the jurisdictions of the great interior departments of the State, which in France survive revolutions and changes of régime. It would needs have been a fragmentary and inexhaustive supplement to a work which I have striven to make as complete as possible; but I have planned another to deal with the Centralised Administration, the Church and Education, the Judicial and Fiscal Systems, as well as with questions relating to Capital and Labour, to the Colonies and to the Army.

"Diligence and accuracy," said a great master of our language, "are the only merits which an historical writer can ascribe to himself." My experience is that an author may with greater confidence vouch for his diligence than for his accuracy, even though he treat not of the dim ages of which Gibbon wrote, but of events in the lifetime of men he has seen or of contemporary laws and practices. The most scrupulous care does not assure perfect immunity from error, as I found out in the attentive revision to which these volumes have been submitted. There was a point of electoral jurisprudence on which the text-books were obscure, and though not of international importance, it is interesting to students of comparative procedure; so I wrote to a Deputy who is a parliamentary authority to clear it up, and incorporated his answer in my text. Later, being invited by the experienced and intelligent

Mayor of a village to be present at a poll over which he presided, I repeated the question to him, and he gave a completely different reply. Finally, I referred it to a Senator, and he demonstrated so clearly that both the Deputy and the Mayor were wrong, that I adopted his version. The incident shows that neither familiarity with a country nor assiduous care, nor the kindly help of its best-informed inhabitants, can insure infallibility. I hope, however, that errors of fact are not frequent in this work; and should any have survived its vigilant emendation I shall be extremely grateful if readers or critics will point them out to me.

A Table of Some of the More Important Dates in the History of France since the French Revolution

1789 Opening of the States-General at Versailles, May 5.
The Third Estate resolves itself into a National Assembly, June 17.
Fall of the Bastille, July 14.
Declaration of the Rights of Man, August 20.
1790 Division of France into Departments, January 15.
Suppression of titles of nobility and all honorary distinctions, June 19.
Federation on the Champ de Mars, July 14.
1791 Death of Mirabeau, April 4.
The flight to Varennes of Louis XVI. and his family, June 20.
The King accepts the Constitution of 1791, September 13.
First meeting of Legislative Assembly, October 1.
1792 Sack of the Tuileries, August 10.
Massacres in the prisons of Paris, September 2 and 3.
First meeting of Convention: Battle of Valmy, September 20.
Abolition of the Monarchy: Commencement of Republican Era, September 21.
1793 Execution of Louis XVI., January 21.
Beginning of Vendean War.
Fall of the Girondins, May 31.
Revolutionary Calendar came into use September 22.
Execution of Marie Antoinette, October 16.
Bonaparte at the Siege of Toulon, December 19.
1794 The Reign of Terror may be considered to have lasted from the arrest of the Girondins in October, 1793, to the fall of Robespierre (9 Thermidor, An II.), July 27, 1794.
1795 Suppression of the Revolutionary Tribunal.
Death of Louis XVII. at the Temple, June 12.
Constitution of An III. adopted, August 22.

1795 13 Vendémiaire, An IV.: Bonaparte suppresses the anti-Revolutionary insurrection in Paris, October 5.
Nomination of the DIRECTORY, November 1.
1796 Bonaparte Chief of the Army of Italy.
Battles of Castiglione, August 5, and of Arcola, November 15.
1797 Battle of Rivoli, January 14.
18 Fructidor, An V.: *Coup d'État* of Augereau against the counter-revolution, September 4.
Treaty of Campo Formio (France and Austria), October 17: Bonaparte returns to Paris, December 5.
1798 Egyptian Expedition: Battle of the Pyramids, July 21.
1799 Invasion of Syria by Bonaparte: Battles of Mount Thabor, April 16, and of St. Jean d'Acre, May 16.
Bonaparte returns to France: *Coup d'État du* 18 Brumaire, November 9.
BONAPARTE FIRST CONSUL, December 13: Constitution of An VIII.
1800 Administrative reorganisation by Bonaparte.
Battle of Marengo (Austrians), June 14.
Battle of Hohenlinden (Austrians), December 3.
1801 Retirement of French from Egypt.
1802 Peace of Amiens (England, France, and Spain), March 25.
Ratification of Concordat, and organisation of Public Education.
Bonaparte Consul for 10 years, May 8; and for life, August 2.
1803 Rupture of the peace with England.
1804 Assassination of the Duc d'Enghien, March 21.
Proclamation of EMPIRE, May 18.
Publication of Civil Code.
Preparations to invade England.
Coronation of Napoleon at Notre Dame, December 2.
1805 Napoleon King of Italy, March 18.
Battle of Trafalgar, October 21.
Battle of Austerlitz (Austrians and Russians), December 2: Treaty of Presburg, December 26.
1806 Battle of Jena (Prussians), October 14: The continental blockade.
1807 Battle of Eylau (Russians), February 8.
Battle of Friedland (Russians), June 14: Peace of Tilsitt, July 8.
1808 Invasion of Spain.
1809 Battle of Wagram (Austrians), July 6.

1810 Divorce of Josephine: Marriage of Napoleon and the Archduchess Marie Louise, April 1.
1811 Birth of the King of Rome, March 20.
1812 French reverses in the Peninsula.
Invasion of Russia: Retreat from Moscow began, October 19.
1813 Campaign of Germany: Battle of Leipsic (coalition), October 18, 19.
1814 Campaign of France: First Entry of the Allies in Paris, March 31: Abdication of Napoleon, April 11.
First Restoration: Louis XVIII. enters Paris, May 3.
Opening of Congress of Vienna, November 3.
1815 Napoleon lands from Elba at Golfe Juan, March 1.
Flight of Louis XVIII.: Arrival of Napoleon in Paris, March 20: Hundred Days.
Battle of Waterloo, June 18.
Second Entry of the Allies in Paris, July 6: Second Restoration.
The White Terror.
Arrival of Napoleon at St. Helena, October 13: Execution of Marshal Ney, December 7.
1820 Assassination of the Duc de Berry, February 13.
Birth of his son the Duc de Bordeaux (Comte de Chambord), September 29.
1821 Death of Napoleon at St. Helena, May 5.
1823 Action of France with Holy Alliance: Occupation of Spain: Siege of Trocadéro, August 31.
1824 Death of Louis XVIII., September 16: Succession of Comte d'Artois as Charles X.
1825 Coronation of Charles X. at Reims.
1827 Battle of Navarino, September 20.
Fall of the "Ultra" ministry of M. de Villèle.
1828 Moderate ministry of M. de Martignac.
1829 The "Ultras" return to office under M. de Polignac.
1830 Invasion of Algiers.
Revolution of July: Abdication of Charles X.: Duc d'Orléans becomes King of the French.
Monarchy of July: Louis Philippe.
1831 Casimir-Périer Ministry.
1832 Death of the Duc de Reichstadt (King of Rome).
Ministry of 11th of October (Broglie, Thiers, Guizot).
Arrest of the Duchesse de Berry.

1836 Molé Ministry: Arrest of Louis Napoleon at Strasbourg, October 30.
1840 Louis Napoleon lands at Boulogne and is imprisoned at Ham.
Soult-Guizot Ministry.
Second Funeral of Napoleon.
1842 Death of the Duc d'Orléans, heir to the throne, July 13.
1843 The *entente cordiale* between France and England.
1844 The Pritchard affair.
1846 The Spanish marriages.
1848 Revolution of 24th February: Abdication of Louis Philippe.
The Second Republic: The Constituent Assembly.
Insurrection in Paris: The Days of June.
Louis Napoleon Bonaparte elected President of the Republic, December 10.
1849 The Legislative Assembly.
1851 The *Coup d'État:* The Presidency conferred by plebiscite on Louis Napoleon for ten years, December 2–28.
1852 The Second Empire: Louis Napoleon after a second plebiscite proclaimed Emperor as Napoleon III., December 2.
1853 Marriage of Napoleon III. with Eugénie de Guzman (de Montijo), January 30.
1854 Crimean War.
1856 Birth of the Prince Imperial: Treaty of Paris.
1859 Italian War: Battles of Magenta and Solferino: Peace of Villafranca, April–July.
1860 Treaty of Turin: Cession of Savoy and Nice to France, March 24.
Commercial treaty between England and France.
1862 Mexican Expedition.
1867–69 Gradual transformation of Government into "Liberal Empire."
1870 Plebiscite on the Revised Constitution.
War with Prussia: Battle of Sedan, September 2: Fall of the Empire.
Third Republic: Revolution of 4th of September.
Investiture of Paris: Campaign of the Loire.
Surrender of Metz, October 27.
1871 Capitulation of Paris, January 28.
Election of National Assembly, which met at Bordeaux February 12.
Signature at Versailles of preliminaries of peace, including cession of Alsace-Lorraine, February 26.

1871 Entry of Germans in Paris, March 1.
Insurrection of the Commune, March 18.
Treaty of Frankfort, May 10.
Defeat of Commune and occupation of Paris by Versailles troops, May 26,
M. THIERS proclaimed "President of the French Republic," August 31.
1873 Death of Louis Napoleon, January 9.
Resignation of M. Thiers: MARSHAL MACMAHON President of the Republic, May 24.
1875 Dissolution of the National Assembly after it had voted the CONSTITUTION OF 1875.
1876 First Elections of Senate and Chamber of Deputies under new Constitution.
1877 The Seize Mai.
1879 Resignation of Marshal MacMahon: M. GRÉVY President of the Republic.
Death of the Prince Imperial in Zululand, June 1.
The Legislature returns to Paris from Versailles.
1880 The Ferry decrees issued relating to religious Orders.
1881 Gambetta Prime Minister, November 14 to January 26, 1882 (Le Grand Ministère).
1882 Death of Gambetta, December 31.
1883 The Second Ferry Ministry, the most durable of all the Ministries of the Republic, held office from February 21, 1883, to March 30, 1885.
Death of the Comte de Chambord, August 24.
1884 Partial Revision of the Constitution.
1885 Disaster of Lang-Son, March 28.
Re-election of M. Grévy as President of the Republic, December 28.
1886 General Boulanger Minister of War, January, 1886, to May, 1887.
Expulsion of the Princes of families which had reigned over France.
1887 Resignation of M. Grévy: M. CARNOT President of the Republic, December 3.
1888 Progress of Boulangist movement.
1889 Election of General Boulanger as Member for Paris, January 27: His flight from France, April 1.
1890 M. de Freycinet Prime Minister for the fourth time.
1892 Exposure of the Panama affair.

1893 Visit of the officers of the Russian squadron to Paris.

1894 Assassination of M. Carnot: M. Casimir-Périer President of the Republic, June 27.

Death of the Comte de Paris, September 8.

1895 Resignation of M. Casimir-Périer: M. Félix Faure President of the Republic, January 17.

Madagascar attached to the French Colonies, December 12.

1896 M. Méline formed the 34th Cabinet which had taken office in France since the resignation of M. Thiers in 1873.

INTRODUCTION

I

A WRITER who undertakes the study of the institutions and tendencies of a nation not his own, and especially an Englishman who thus turns his attention to France, has before him two great masterpieces, the methods of which it behooves him to observe. The one is the journal of an English traveller in France: the other is the treatise of a French philosopher on an English-speaking community. Though a century has passed since Arthur Young published the record of his rides through France on the eve of the Revolution, it retains all its freshness: and if he is now only read with curiosity by his countrymen, the French regard him as a classic authority on the outward aspect of their land in the last days of the old régime. Tocqueville's work on the new Democracy of America which sixty years ago attracted the notice of thinkers of all nations has little in common with that of the Suffolk squire, who had no pretension to abstract science. Arthur Young notes incidentally day by day his impressions on the condition of the people and the political movement imminent among them in a minute inquiry into the state of French agriculture, while Tocqueville sets himself the deliberate task of remarking the phenomena arising out of the democratic

expansion of the Anglo-Saxon stock. Each undertook his inquest at a momentous stage of the progress of civilisation. The *Travels in France* were completed under a régime eight hundred years old, just before the great upheaval, which, in destroying it, convulsed the world. Tocqueville crossed the Atlantic also on the eve of a revolution, less resounding, but of more permanent and wide-spread effect than that of 1789. Many of the actors in that stupendous drama survived in France, and in America he saw men who had taken part in the War of Independence. It was the roseate morning of the Orleanist dispensation. The French bourgeoisie which had led the revolt against the ancient bondage, had, after forty years' wandering in a series of wildernesses, entered the promised land of statutory monarchy and of middle-class domination: while to complete its complacent joy, England, its constitutional pattern, in whose history it had found far-fetched revolutionary antitypes, now followed the lead of France, and 1832, which endowed the British middle-classes with political power, was the echo of the glorious Days of July. But though it was the period of the century when the tradition of the French Revolution was most in favour, its results had produced disillusion in the minds of philosophers who had the power of detaching themselves from superstitious reverence for theories and for doctrines. The nightmare of the Terror was the starting-point of the memories of all the elders of that generation, and those who were born after the reign of the Jacobins had seen with their young eyes the other tangible results of the Revolution: — the reconstruction of France by the agency of military despotism; the delivery of the autocratic fabric by foreign

conquerors to the heir of divine right, reinstated to deck it as a constitutional figure-head of the English model; the clerical reaction which called forth the parliamentary Monarchy of the middle-classes. Hence observers like Tocqueville, sceptical of the finality of any successive phase of the Revolution, turned with hope to the Western Continent and its new civilisation untrammelled by a past.

Just as the English squire riding through France could not in his forecast of the coming storm anticipate that its lasting result would be a solid construction of centralised government raised by a too victorious soldier, so the French philosopher returned from America convinced that he had seen the land where the social revolution was so simple and uncomplicated that it had nearly attained its limits. A few years later the application of steam-power and electricity was so to transform the conditions of life on that continent, that rapid means of communication and consequent commercial development produced a social revolution greater than that which in the Old World followed the fall of the Bastille and the abolition of privilege. We who stand at the close of the century which has seen the reconstruction of France by Napoleon, and the more momentous changes wrought all over the globe by scientific inventions, which have deprived Europe of its uncontested supremacy as the centre of civilisation, and which in communities, old and young, have raised new social questions and altered the aspect of the eternal struggle between rich and poor: we whose calendars will soon mark the last stage of the second millenary period of the Christian era may probably witness unexpected phenomena which will even

more completely upset the calculations of philosophic observers.

Such considerations ought not to discourage the student of human institutions from minutely analysing the systems of government or the political and social tendencies of his time; but they should deter him from the facile pastime of prophecy which has allured the most cautious of philosophers. No modern publicist is more lucid than Tocqueville, or more suggestive in ideas regarding the development of mankind: yet when he descends from the vantage ground whence he made his accurate and sagacious observations he goes as far astray in his predictions as any empiric watching the human movement from an arm-chair. Indeed he recognises the futility of forecast: "Dans le tableau de l'avenir le hasard forme toujours comme le point obscur où l'œil de l'intelligence ne saurait pénétrer."[1]

The pages of Tocqueville display the attractiveness of generalisation, a method which was perhaps inevitable in treating of a young democracy without a past. But there would be no excuse for a writer who used it in a treatise on France, the last country in the world about which it is possible to generalise. The ignoring of this truth by the men of the Revolution was a leading cause of the anarchy and horror after 1789. None were ever more eloquent in generalities than the Jacobins of the revolutionary assemblies. Superficially equipped with the theories of Rousseau, they evolved from them general principles which unhappily they were in a position to apply to the government of France. We all know what the result was, and how the ruin thus consummated had

[1] *Démocratie en Amérique*, vol. ii. c. 10.

to be repaired by the hands of the greatest master of detail the world has ever seen. Napoleon had the impartial eye of an alien to discern the nature of the evil; but Voltaire, who knew his countrymen as well as their Corsican protector came to know them, had said that in every section of the nation, in all the relations of life, were found side by side all the contradictions and incompatibilities possible to imagine.[1]

The treatise of Tocqueville, moreover, would be more instructive if his illustrations were less fragmentary, and if he dissimulated less the particulars whereon he bases his conclusions, which sometimes have the air of the dogmatisms of a moralist instead of being the reflections of a diligent traveller. The completely contrary method of Arthur Young has great merits. He, however, had the happy chance of keeping his roving diary at one of the most interesting crises of human history, and a century later a daily record of life in France could, at its best, only furnish a collection of unarranged material for future students. An admirable example of work of this class is a posthumous volume of M. Taine, his *Carnets de Voyage*, consisting of notes made in the French provinces, when under the Second Empire he was an itinerant examiner of candidates for St. Cyr. His more finished *Notes sur l'Angleterre*, and his *Voyage en Italie*, show what excellent literature can thus be produced by a master-hand; but this was mere holiday diversion compared to the great work of his life, of which the chief feature is the methodical classification of the results of his research and experience.

These worthy examples of diligence and observation

[1] *Candide*, c. xxii.

aid in projecting his plans the writer who has undertaken the examination of the problems of government and other cognate questions in a nation which is the most complex product of civilisation on the face of the globe. While discarding the method adopted by Arthur Young, the drawbacks of which he modestly sets forth in the first pages of his journal, as I have been led to give exclusively to this work a number of years, which few, even of those who could spare them, would care to devote to the consideration of a foreign country, I venture briefly to relate how they have been occupied.

II

I came to France in May, 1890, and wrote the last lines of these volumes more than seven years later, having in the interval not spent seven weeks away from French soil, as I had soon perceived that uninterrupted residence in the land was the only means of accomplishing my self-imposed task. In bygone days the French provinces had often attracted my steps,— not only haunts of tourists, such as Normandy, Touraine, and Provence, but less familiar ground, from the industrial region of the North-East, where the factory smoke of Sedan has not yet obscured the traces of the fumes of battle, to Poitiers and Angoulême in the West, where in the vineyards far from the frontier the phylloxera is more dreaded than the ravages of human invaders. Thus when the idea of writing a work on France brought me to live in Paris, I went there not quite as a stranger. In the first months I made or renewed acquaintance with many Parisians of various types and schools of thought,

including M. Renan, M. Taine, Comte Albert de Mun, Mgr. Freppel, and M. Clemenceau. A sad thought overshadows the memory of that pleasant summer. Three of the five names I have just written are no longer those of living men; and in the ranks of all whom I have known during my sojourn in France death has made ruthless havoc. Cardinal Manning, without whose affectionate interest my knowledge of certain phases of French life would have been less intimate, said of the projected work, "It is like writing the history of a kaleidoscope," and the words have had a meaning not intended by the venerable Cardinal, who himself has submitted to the kaleidoscopic power which changes the aspect of human society without reference to the vicissitudes of government or the mobility of national temperament.

One who has thus disappeared of those whom I saw in my early days in France was the British Ambassador to the Republic. Lord Lytton had, in that capacity, some injustice done to his remarkable talents, coming as he did to the Embassy in Paris between two of the most distinguished envoys ever lodged in the hôtel of Pauline Borghese. His predecessor, Lord Lyons, was the ablest professional diplomatist of his time in the English service, and his successor, Lord Dufferin, a politician by training, has taken into retirement the fame of the most brilliant representative the Queen has had beyond the seas during her long reign. Lord Lytton had, however, a quality precious in an ambassador to France, possessed by neither of those eminent men, and rarely found in any countryman of ours. In the course of my life I have known the four or five Englishmen reputed to have had the completest

acquaintance with France and its people, but the faculty possessed by each of them was akin to the knowledge which an attentive doctor has of a patient. With skill, often painstaking and accurate, they diagnosed the French; but not one of them had that sympathy, in the sense in which the Latin races use the term, cherished by Lord Lytton for the men and women of France. During his mission in Paris it happened that the French Ambassador in London was M. Waddington, who, for different reasons, had an analogous gift of understanding the springs of English action. Both diplomatists were of undeviating loyalty to the lands of their allegiance, but each had the inestimable capacity of discerning the point of view of the people with whom he had to treat. If modern ambassadors held in their hands the issues of peace and war, it might promote the calm of Europe could we always install in the Faubourg St. Honoré a Parisian-minded Briton, while Albert Gate was tenanted by an English public-schoolman who had rowed in a University race.

My first provincial *voyage d'études* I will describe with some detail to show how I made it my aim from the first to see people of every calling and of every class of the community, without distinction of party. It was a happy experience. When wayfaring in France as a tourist the towers of a château seen among the woods from the roadside, or a prefecture standing in its park in a country town, or the modest home of a rural priest beneath the shadow of a church, had always filled me with wondering desire to know what manner of people dwelt within those walls; so having read and imagined much about the lives they led, it would not have been

surprising if some disillusion had followed my first entry into this novel society. Nothing of the sort occurred, and the memory of my opening journey as a resident in France is a series of pleasing pictures. During several previous years I had travelled in distant English-speaking lands, studying various phases of the expansion of our race in our own admirable Colonies, and in the United States; but the strenuous impressions brought home from these edifying voyages had not unfitted me to appreciate more restful adventures amid an older civilisation. Even now, when I know the French provinces as few foreigners can know them, the familiar scenes of daily life which meet the casual view give me pleasurable sensations as keen as when I was a passing stranger. A bishop blessing little children in the aisles of his cathedral, a group of white-coifed peasant women in a market-place, or a red-legged regiment swinging through a village to the strains of a bugle-march has now for me not merely the sentimental or picturesque interest of former days. I know, indeed, that the lives of many of these people are neither ideal nor idyllic, but I recognise now in these provincials, with all their failings, the true force of France which keeps her in the front rank of nations, in spite of the follies, governmental and otherwise, committed in her beautiful capital.

The first prolonged halt on my journey of 1890 was made at Autun. I went there on the invitation of Mgr. Perraud, the learned Academician, who, being in intellect and in character an ecclesiastic superior to those whom the Republic is wont to honour under the provisions of the Concordat, was made to wait inordi-

nately for his Cardinal's hat. The hours I spent in the old palace of the Dukes of Burgundy, of which Talleyrand was once the episcopal occupant, were more memorable because of the presence of the Bishop's brother, the late Abbé Charles Perraud, the intimate friend of Henri Perreyve, who, the hope of the Church in France, did not attain even the early age at which Pascal died. My copy of his correspondence with Charles Perraud belonged to another very dissimilar companion of those days at Autun. Mr. Hamerton was then living in the Morvan, in the rural homestead of which English readers well know the charm, and it was an advantage to have his judicious counsel at the outset of my work. Certain phases of life in France he knew better than any natives of the soil, though he retained his English characteristics most remarkably amid domestic surroundings peculiarly French. He was a perfectly unprejudiced observer of the ways of the nation in the midst of which he lived, as befitted a philosopher of original gifts and elevated view.

From Autun I went to Le Creuzot to stay with M. Schneider, the owner of the great iron-works and ordnance factory, whose father was president of the Corps Législatif under Napoleon III. There I carefully studied the conditions of existence in a mining and industrial centre in which the relations of capital and labour are generally harmonious, examining the workmen's dwellings, the schools, and the organisations for the encouragement of thrift. My next visit was a pleasant experience of a very different order. In the hill-country of the Forez, near the upper Loire, I went to see the Vicomte de Meaux, a cultivated historian who was

twice a minister under Marshal MacMahon, and it was a happy hazard for an Englishman that in the first rural château to which he was invited the châtelaine was a daughter of M. de Montalembert, whose admiration for England was such that the judges of the Second Empire sentenced him to imprisonment for his suggestive praises of British rule.

My next stage was Lyons. M. Jules Cambon, since Governor-General of Algeria and now Ambassador at Washington, was then Préfet of the Rhône, and by his obliging kindness I was enabled not only to study the administrative system as organised in the second prefecture of France, but I was put into relations with many of the notables of the great provincial capital who direct the self-governing institutions of which the Lyonnais are proud. The civic hospitals, the savings-banks, the enterprises for housing and for feeding the poor, to say nothing of the religious establishments, some of which the late Cardinal Foulon permitted me to visit, make Lyons one of the most interesting places in Europe, the practical arts being perfected by a population which contains contending elements of mystical fervour and of revolutionary turbulence. From Lyons I visited two other important towns. At Grenoble, the old metropolis of Dauphiny, which has grown into a modern industrial city, I attended the sittings of the Conseil-Général and was aided in my inquiries by M. Robert, the Préfet of the Isère; and at St. Étienne, where the surroundings of toil are less picturesque, I first made acquaintance with French trade-unionists and socialists.

On my way to the eastern frontier I stopped at Bourg-en-Bresse, a typical agricultural centre, going thence to

Besançon, Vesoul, and Épinal, chief towns of departments which are important both for strategic reasons and because of their industrial development due to the immigration from the annexed provinces. Thence I crossed the Vosges into the lost territory, and made an excursion of pathetic interest, the Alsacians whom I met at Strasbourg, Mulhouse, and elsewhere being nearly all of the class passionately devoted to France. After a visit to Belfort, the heroic fragment of the Haut Rhin saved from Germany, I went to Nancy, which, unlike most disenthroned capitals, has preserved a sumptuous air of grandeur. At all the places within the French boundary I had ample opportunity of studying the sentiments of every section of the frontier population, in visits to republican prefectures and to royalist châteaux, and in frequent intercourse with soldiers and functionaries as well as with permanent denizens of the borderland. Before returning to Paris by Domrémy and Reims I saw two former Prime Ministers who had little in common except their Vosgean origin and their thankless experience of a statesman's calling in France. M. Jules Ferry lived hard by the frontier at St. Dié, his birthplace, and the electors of his native city had just ejected him from Parliament in return for his services ever since the creation of the Chamber. M. Buffet, spared from such vicissitude by being an irremovable senator, displayed the advantage of the now abrogated system of nomination. Though much older than his republican antagonist, though his official career ended when that of M. Ferry began, and though unlike him he had not the solace of knowing that since his fall France was ruled by his political friends, M. Buffet seemed to take a more

buoyant view of life than did his neighbour. The venerable leader of the Reactionaries knew his party too well to have any illusions about its future; but for a student of French institutions it was a privilege to listen to one whose long public career began as a Minister in 1848, and I took away some historical lessons of value from the château of Ravenel.

My subsequent journeyings shall be more briefly summarised. After passing some months in Paris I started again in 1891, returning to Lyons, which contains material for frequent study worthy of the second city of France. Thence I went to Marseilles, and stayed long enough to get a certain insight into the life of the composite population. Crossing to Algeria, during a long visit I was able to examine the peculiar system of administration followed in this quasi-colonial possession, and also the more practical methods of Cardinal Lavigerie's Pères Blancs. I travelled as far as the frontier of Tunis, and returned to France by way of Corsica, exploring a large portion of the island which, after Great Britain, has had more influence on the destinies of modern Europe than any other insular fragment of that continent.

After a brief summer season in Paris we set out for the West, visiting the cities of Le Mans, Angers, and Vannes. There in the Morbihan the Comte de Mun met us, and under his amiable guidance we had many glimpses of Breton life rarely accorded to strangers. In hospitable châteaux and in village presbyteries, at *pardons* and at horse-fairs, in fishing hamlets and in moorland towns, our surroundings made it hard to realise that we were living among the subjects of a Republic,

for the Encyclical referring to that state of things, which the next year dismayed Catholic and Royalist Brittany, was not yet delivered to the printer of the Vatican.

We travelled slowly by Nantes and La Rochelle to Bordeaux, an attractive city where a genial commerce promotes proficiency in the art of living, and from the vine-country passed to the Landes, a sequestered region, of which the kindly inhabitants display marked local characteristic. Then several Pyrenean towns were visited, including Lourdes, which for a student is one of the most interesting places in Europe a century after the installation of the cult of Reason on the altar of Notre Dame. We advanced into Languedoc as far as Carcassonne, taking away pleasant memories of home life in remote châteaux, of which the inmates disdain the distant joys of Paris, and go for their winter season to Toulouse. We had already halted in that exuberant city, so turning north we came to Limoges, an example of how in France the prosperity of a smoky trade does not deface the landscape. Then we drove through George Sand's country, lingering in many a forgotten town and village in the Creuse and the Indre which were household words fifty years ago, and so we came to the capital of the Berry. Apart from its ecclesiastical and industrial features, Bourges presented a phenomenon which, outside Paris and away from the Alpes Maritimes and from certain summer resorts, I have rarely encountered on my travels in France: we met an Englishman. It is true he had for his singular enterprise the excuse of a special mission, the explorer being Sir Frederick Leighton, who was studying cathedral architecture in the preparation of an academical address.

The circumstances of my life now made prolonged journeys somewhat difficult, so, with the exception of visits to Chartres and other places near the capital, I remained in Paris till the summer of 1892, when it seemed more advantageous to choose a provincial neighbourhood for a residence of some months than to be perpetually roving. Travelling, indeed, is most essential to gain a general view of a country, and to compare the tendencies and sentiments of the populations; but it is also necessary to live quietly among the people in order to observe at leisure their daily life. Moreover, for studying the uniform institutions of France one locality serves just as well as another. The centralised administration and the educational system, the clergy and the magistracy, are organised on identical lines in Touraine and in Provence. The chief town of a department, of an arrondissement or of a canton, or a simple commune provides precisely the same material for study in Gascony as in Champagne, — or indeed in Algeria, a fact which I realised during my first visit to that dependency when attending a meeting of a rural municipal council: the formalities of the proceedings, the nature of the business, to say nothing of the physiognomy and the diction of the councillors, gave the illusion that the village was in the vicinity of Marseilles or of Cette rather than of a colonial city in Africa.

By good fortune I mentioned my idea to M. Taine, and with his aid I found a house near his home on the Lake of Annecy. Before another summer came the great critic and philosopher was laid to rest by the waterside, and already declining health had limited his attractive powers of intercourse; but the form of my work was

considerably influenced by his conversations, while an agreeable intimacy with his family gave me a valuable insight into his method of study. After this memorable sojourn of three months in the Haute Savoie I visited Lyons for the third time, and thence descended the Rhône by boat, halting at Vienne, Valence, and Avignon. We stayed for some time at Montpellier, which, with its learned Faculties, has the air of a University town. During this southern tour of exceptional interest we called at Rodez and Montauban, and had some varied experience of country-house life in the Aveyron and the Landes, while I followed my usual plan of seeing people of every description, from reactionary bishops to anti-clerical professors. Returning to Paris we paid some visits in the châteaux near the capital, thus ending the year in Seine-et-Oise with the late Duc de Rohan. If I name that lamented gentleman of the old school, it is not merely as a tribute of friendship, but because he was in my experience the last survivor of his class who had retained a savour of the ancient régime. He had been brought up among the men and women of the Emigration who had taken part in the diversions of the Court of Louis XVI., and who imparted to the children of the Restoration a lingering trace of that charm of manner whereof the eighteenth century had the secret.

Of the places visited in the next two years a bare enumeration must suffice, which can give no idea of the ever-varying charm of travel on French soil. The spring of 1893 we spent on the Mediterranean, quitting the tourist track and seeing many unfamiliar places. We went inland by way of Aix, and from Arles traversed the Camargue, exploring the Dead Cities of the Gulf of

Lyons, in one of which, Aigues Mortes, modern social questions are discussed with lively emphasism. At Nîmes I saw something of the Protestants who have their chief seat here: thence we went through the Cevennes to Le Puy, and through Auvergne to Clermont Ferrand. That summer we passed on the shores of the Gironde, described by Michelet in *La Mer*, where another French Protestant population survives in the Huguenot settlements of Saintonge, and here I witnessed the general elections. Early in 1894 we revisited Algeria, and on our return made a tour in Burgundy before going to the Chablais for the summer. The shores of Léman are not far from Annecy, so we went to stay in the home of M. Taine at Menthon; and there in his library, untouched since he left it, among his annotated books, I was able better than ever to realise the industry and research with which he had pursued the study of the origins of modern France. I paid a fourth visit to Lyons, and then spent a month in country houses in the Charollais, in an interesting district on the borders of a great mining basin and of an agricultural country. I thus visited Paray-le-Monial, where the devout inhabitants accept with joy the decision of the Holy See that it is not an article of faith to believe in the prodigies of Lourdes, which have eclipsed the more venerable shrine of Marie Alacocque. Thence I went to Dijon to inspect the military quarters in that city of valiant renown during the Prussian invasion. We remained in Paris till the spring of 1895, when we made a new series of tours in the Nivernais, in Touraine, and in Picardy.

Paris had now been my home for five years and I had steadily pursued my task to the exclusion of all other

occupation, but I was not quite satisfied with its progress. From each provincial journey I had brought back a mass of information, and in Paris I was never idle, but the writing accomplished there displayed an inharmonious contrast in tone to the studies made in the tranquil air of the provinces. A foreigner who lives in Paris, and who frequents the dissimilar circles of its society, cannot escape the agitating influence of conflicting coteries. Paris still contains the material for the most attractive society in the world, but unhappily so disorganised, so split up into sections, and so modified by the pleasure-seeking cosmopolitan element that socially the brilliant city is losing its character of a great metropolis. The fashionable class has no relations with the governing class, and the men of genius, wit, and intellect have little dealings with either. Here and there the borderland between the various groups is indistinct, but generally speaking, fashion, politics, and culture rarely meet on common ground. If a stranger express his regret at this state of things he is told that it is inevitable: the triflers reprobate the morals of politicians: the politicians disparage the mental faculties of the fashionable: the workers and thinkers who, in spite of the others, maintain the prestige of France, more quietly disdain both categories which between them have destroyed the great glory of French society, the salon. Moreover, in Paris one sees too many newspapers, and as publicists of the boulevards are wont to revile in rude language their fellow-countrymen who do not agree with them, the enjoyment of an unlicensed press is apt to distort a stranger's ideas of the people of the land.

Paris, again, though one never looks at a newspaper or sets foot in society, is a distracting and seductive city, even in these days when the march of civilisation is trampling down much of its old characteristic. There is no place on the globe where it is so easy to imagine that a day of sauntering has been fruitful in good work. A morning spent on the Quays in search of a serious book, an afternoon passed in a studio listening to theories, may familiarise a stranger with the ways of the land of his sojourn, but they do not speed him in the progress of *un travail de longue haleine* — to use an expressive phrase which shows that the French understand the conditions of successful effort. For it is to be noted that Paris has not this laxative effect on the Parisian inured to its atmosphere. A felicitous discourse of M. Renan's had for its text the query, "Peut-on travailler en province?" but though he took eloquent pains to prove to his audience at the Sorbonne that inability to perform intellectual work in the provinces was a fallacy born of the centralising heritage of the Revolution, he never availed himself, save at holiday times, of the provincial advantages which he extolled, and I do not think that it was his Hebrew Chair at the Collège de France which bound him to the capital. Among his surviving colleagues at the Institute, the variety of French genius has never been more signally displayed than by M. Ludovic Halévy and M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, and both of those eminent authors have assured me that it is in Paris that their powers of production are most active. It is among the smiling lawns which skirt the Bois de Boulogne that the grave economist proves his worthiness to be the compatriot of Bastiat and the kinsman

of Michel Chevalier, while the sombre heights of Montmartre have inspired the creator of Madame Cardinal to add to the gaiety of nations; but the atmosphere of Paris equally pervades those dissimilar quarters.

Though M. Halévy once courted his muse in the suburban groves of St. Germain, I can testify that amid rural scenes he ceased to be a writer, for he was my neighbour for two pleasant summers. Not being a Parisian I was beset by the conviction that to accomplish my work I must find a place removed from influences which disturbed its unremitting pursuit, and we found it in the Brie hard by the domain of the amiable Academician. It was a château built in the last days of Louis XIII., with all the architectural grace of that stately epoch; and in the next century it acquired some literary associations, as its woods adjoined those of Grandval, so the guests of Baron d'Holbach sometimes came that way, as Diderot recorded in his letters to Mlle. Voland. It was thus almost within sight of the capital, so uninterrupted work was possible without the isolation of enforced solitude. The provincial excursions were not wholly abandoned: once we went to Poitou driving through the Vendée and the Deux Sèvres, and another time we visited Normandy; but for the greater part of two years I rarely left my writing.

These volumes were not, however, finished there, for, compelled to winter in the south, I went to Nice, being the first foreigner in the cognisance of the Préfet of the Alpes Maritimes, who, since the annexation, had chosen that garish cosmopolis for a sojourn, because of its administrative attractions as a Chef-lieu de Département. I had my reward in witnessing some interesting phases

of French local government, notably when that accomplished agent of the Republic, M. Henry, who has since been promoted to be its Minister at Bukharest, issued a proclamation, in which, citing Napoleon's Decree of Messidor, he forbade all public officials, from the clergy to the magistracy, to attend the New Year's reception of the Mayor, as the elect of popular suffrage had affronted the representative of centralised authority. It was a striking corroboration of what I have suggested more than once in the following pages, that under every régime, Republican or Monarchical, autocratic or parliamentary, the civic life of the nation is regulated by the durable machinery of the Napoleonic settlement. Since then I have sought other practical means of verifying the contents of these volumes in the course of a long driving tour through the Basses Alpes, the Hautes Alpes, and the Isère, finally completing them near Chambéry, a city of exceptional amenity, almost within sight of Les Charmettes, where Rousseau first studied philosophy with consequences which changed the destinies of France.

III

It was M. Taine who first represented to me the magnitude of my task, relating his own experiences with his *Origines de la France Contemporaine*, which, conceived in his early manhood, were still unfinished forty years later. Before I realised the nature of the enterprise my idea was to live in Paris for a year or so in the intervals of provincial tours, and to finish the work in England, — a plan so unpractical for the study of a complex society with its deluding surface of symmetrical institutions that

one short summer excursion would have better qualified me for it. Mr. Hamerton, from his experience, gave me some sound advice on this point. "There are two moments," he said, "for writing: one when the writer knows nothing about his subject (which is the time often chosen by travellers for composing their descriptive works), and the other when he knows a great deal; in the intermediate stage, if he is acquiring knowledge, its acquisition destroys the confidence which he had before learning, and which he can only retrieve after having learned." Not that a stranger's first ideas of a country are to be despised, if only he will not parade them as a definite and weighty judgment. A new-comer is often struck with characteristics which, apparent to his superficial view, soon evade the notice of the most observant student as the land and its people become familiar to him. A writer is wise, therefore, to note early impressions as they indicate the points on which his countrymen need information.

There is another objection to studying in a limited period a nation like France, with its conflicting institutions and its profound internal divisions. A non-resident traveller who examines a strange country must needs be dependent on the polite inhabitants who display to him its features. He cannot help being affected by the opinion of his guides; or if he takes an independent view he feels bound to modify it so as not to rudely oppose that of his hosts, who on their part communicate, without intentional insincerity, a conventional or highly coloured impression not quite in accordance with their own belief. The impartial wayfarer who frequents antagonistic circles of society, especially in a land where the

breaches between them are impassable, is not in much better case, for with two sets of friends whose prejudices he wishes to respect, he sums up the cases of rival advocates with judicial inconclusiveness. English authors who write treatises on English-speaking communities are not subject to this disadvantage, as a Briton who goes to the British colonies or to the United States possesses on landing, in instinct, education, and language, the equivalent of a long residence in a foreign country. There are, however, certain monographs published on the continent on English institutions, which though painstaking and interesting are too clearly the reflection of the opinions of the authors' English friends to be valuable as works of reference or as essays in philosophy.

A writer who sets himself to examine a foreign country may compare himself with one commissioned to investigate the working of a great railway company. Such an one, if he wished his report to be of value, would not be satisfied with a few picturesque journeys over the smoothest portions of the line in the comfortable saloon of the directors, who with personal attention further facilitated the inquiry. Still less would he content himself with the opinions of discharged officers of the company, exponents of a contrary system of management, or of malcontent shareholders who wished to change the directorate. He would assiduously utilise all those means of information, but he would supplement them with a searching independent inquiry. He would explore the line in all directions, not disdaining the humblest class of conveyance or the slowest trains: he would elicit from his fellow-passengers their travelling experiences and inter-

rogate the servants of the company; he would ascertain the frequency and the gravity of accidents, the standard of punctuality observed, the tariff of fares and of freights, the condition of the rolling-stock and of the permanent-way, the wages paid to workpeople, taking care to compare all his private information with official documents. Such an inquest would require time, patience, and diligence, yet it would be a mere holiday task by the side of an investigation into the functions and working of the institutions of a great nation.

If I had confined myself to a few instructive tours, alternating sojourns in anti-republican châteaux with visits to provincial towns to see the authorities, I should have got some vivid impressions of contradictory phases of French life, auxiliary to my sedentary studies, without acquiring a competent knowledge of France. An itinerant in a strange land, whether lodged in an inn or beneath a hospitable roof, has no real experience of the working of its institutions. The government of the country, the administrative, judicial, and fiscal systems, although he has glimpses of their machinery and hears much of their advantages or inconveniences, have no practical purport for him. They only become realities to the student who submits himself to the conditions of existence of the people he is studying. Then as a householder, a tax-payer, or if needs be, as a litigant, in unrestricted and unfavoured commerce with all classes of the population, he can turn to profit the daily incidents of life, or even its vexations. As for the latter, the wheels of civic existence turn smoothly in France for the law-abiding and the unagitated. All nations have their self-imposed crosses to bear. The French complain,

with some reason as we shall see, that they are eaten up by functionaries, but the scourge is not so devastating or so palpably useless as that of the lawyers who eat us up in England. The incidence of taxation oppresses French citizens, but, save for the limited class which has direct dealings with the municipal octroi, its payment is a joy compared with the harassing process which tax-payers, imperial and local, have to endure in the United Kingdom.

IV

While the business of everyday life thus tends to give the foreign settler a favourable impression of the country, there is a contrary influence abroad in France to which a resident is more exposed than a passer-by. The *esprit critique* which made the French Revolution has never ceased to be active, but under the Third Republic it has taken the form of pessimism, acute and contagious, affecting every portion of the nation, excepting that which goes resolutely about its daily work without troubling to think whether France is ill or well governed, or what is the precise nature of her prestige among the powers of Europe. The phenomenon is so striking that it is necessary to consider its causes, as those adduced do not adequately explain the affliction of a large proportion of the sanguine French nation with a malady resembling that which their wits used to impute to the splenetic denizens of our fog-bound island.

France is not the only country stricken with pessimism at the end of the nineteenth century. The disease now follows in the trail of civilisation, ravaging communities

irrespective of their racial origin or system of government. It has infected individuals ever since the world began, but the epidemic form in which we know it is so recent that its name was not recognised as a French word till forty years after the Revolution. To judge from what has occurred since that neologism was moulded, increased rapidity of communication and other scientific improvements, excepting those connected with the healing art, will not increase the sum of human happiness. Their primary effect is to destroy repose and to agitate, thus inducing nervous tension, which is the physical cause of most phases of hypochondria. France has not had to submit to such neurotic influences more than other lands, so there the advantages of civilisation are not the special cause of the inordinate growth of pessimism. Moreover, in other respects, civilised progress has had less depressing results in France than elsewhere. We do not find there, for instance, any counterpart of the hopeless misery of the poor of our English cities, which has been aggravated to a degree unknown in other communities by the congestion of population owing to locomotive facilities, as well as by the substitution of machinery for manual labour. The social question is serious in France, but it does not present any such sombre pictures of extreme suffering calculated to deject the view of those disposed to gloom. Thus French pessimism cannot be regarded as merely a symptom of the universal malady of the age, and there are peculiar causes which give to the nation its predisposition, unnatural to its temperament, to contract inordinately the dolorous contagion.

The special cause of pessimism in France in the last generation of the century is usually said to be the disas-

trous issue of the war with Prussia. Witnesses who are old enough to have known France before 1870, natives as well as foreigners, declare that the immediate effect of the German victory was the disappearance of certain charming qualities which till then had characterised the French nation. The gaiety, the genial sociability, the politeness of the people, which made their capital the most attractive collection of human beings in Europe, were all crushed in the fatal nine months between the Battle of Wörth and the Treaty of Frankfort. France, they say, came out of that struggle like a man who blithe, expansive, and prosperous is smitten with an illness which leaves him prematurely old, peevish, and suspicious, as well as damaged in fortune and bereaved in his affections. Those who had not reached manhood when that transformation took place can judge of its extent only from oral or written tradition; but while it seems certain that France was a land of greater amenity under the Second Empire than under the Third Republic, and while no one can doubt the distressing moral effect on the nation of defeat and loss of territory, a close study of the people and their history convinces that the contrast thus depicted is too indiscriminate. As for the simile of the man broken with sickness, nations are happier than mortals in being able perpetually to renew their forces. This is emphatically true of a race as buoyant as the French, and on the morrow of their reverses they left on record manifestations of their swift recuperative power.

The literature of the period contains little trace of being the production of a people in mourning, and it is notably free from the ill-conditioned pessimism which blemishes, as the French recognise with regret, much of their work

in the third decade after the war. The drama in France is the reflection of the feelings and tendencies in the nation, and if we examine the pieces written at this epoch by Dumas fils, whom the highest authorities regard as an unerring guide in this respect,[1] we find his Frenchmen and Frenchwomen who discussed subtle problems on the boards of the Théâtre Français after the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, not more solemn than those whom he put on the stage of the Gymnase in the light-hearted days of the Second Empire. His most brilliant successor, M. Pailleron, made his fame with a play written in the early years of the Republic, and the life-like creatures who people *Le Monde où l'on s'ennuie*, whatever their vanities or their charms, are not a band of morose cynics like the miscreants, political and fashionable, who monopolise the scenes of French comedy at the end of the century. In fiction, Octave Feuillet's heroes and heroines were as romantic after Sedan as in the days when he spent the intervals of composing in the gay circle at Compiègne and at Fontainebleau; but, though in losing his Imperial protectors he had more personal reason for gloom than perhaps any other writer, his creations after the war evinced none of the dyspeptic despondency of the unwholesome characters of the analytical school, who have now taken possession of French romance.

If imaginative literature reflects the particular temperament of the writer as well as the spirit of the age, there is another source of evidence free from that confusion. The debates of the National Assembly from 1871 to 1875 are entirely dissimilar in tone to those of the Chamber of Deputies in the third decade of the Republic. Under the

[1] See vol. ii. p. 291.

presidencies of M. Carnot and M. Faure scepticism and violence have been the dominant notes of parliamentary eloquence: under M. Thiers and Marshal MacMahon, though party strife was bitter, the language of the deputies showed that while there was keen dissension as to who should be entrusted with the government of France all men were inspired with a dignified hope for the destinies of their country. This tone is apparent even in the inquiry, conducted by the Assembly, into the tragic story of the National Defence. Personal recrimination was sometimes heard, for a dire heritage of the great Revolution is the inability of the French to sink internecine discord in the face of public tribulation; but the men of all professions and parties who deposed to the causes of disaster were hopeful rather than downcast, and as we read their testimony we say, these are the sons of a great nation who know how to profit from the lessons of adversity. Yet the Prussian was still encamped within their borders, the ravage of siege and of battle was unrepaired, the streets were black with mourners for those who had fallen in defeat, and France, without even a settled government, was not only mutilated but isolated. After a quarter of a century of prosperous peace, with a form of government so undisputed that it is the most stable of those enjoyed by France for over a hundred years, in the period which has brought her into close amity with another great power, we must avoid perusing the utterances of her public men in Parliament and in the press, if we would retain unimpaired our belief in the grandeur of the French.

We may be told that the pessimism of the century's end is due to the fact that the generation maturing in it got

its first impressions in the dark days of defeat, so that all those born or adolescent at that epoch had their fancy tainted with images of gloom. The theory might be plausible if an intemperate cult of the serious were a feature of modern French pessimism, or if 1870 were the first year in which France had suffered disaster. There never was a season when the spirit of the nation was merrier than under the Restoration after the invasions which deprived it of its Revolutionary spoils. The removal of the nightmare of war and carnage with which Napoleon had oppressed France was enough to cause a reaction of gaiety in the first years of relief; but as time went on without any renewal of national glories, depression did not fall upon the people. Twenty-seven years, which lie between us and the battle of Sedan, form a large span in the life of a nation, and especially of modern France. Only twenty-seven years divide 1788 from 1815. In the former year Bonaparte was a needy subaltern at Auxonne in the service of Louis XVI., anxious for his mother struggling to support her children at Ajaccio; in the latter he landed at St. Helena, having in the interval made an Emperor of himself and kings of the Corsican orphans, having changed all the frontiers of Europe, and, with more durable effect, having reconstructed France. The like space of time which followed his disappearance was less crowded: instead of nine or ten changes of constitution or régime there was only one, the Revolution of July, so France had leisure to brood over the ills of 1815; but the middle period of Louis Philippe's reign was never excelled for the healthy and gladdening tone both of literature and of opinion. The national thirst for glory was not extinct, as the Orleanists found out in the

ominous enthusiasm evoked by the second burial of Napoleon. Moreover, despondency and discontent existed then as they always do; but when Alfred de Musset bemoaned his conception between two battles, and suggested that the melancholy of his age bore the stamp of the agitating events which had surrounded a childhood whereof Waterloo was the earliest tradition, his contemporaries, not so afflicted, ascribed his distemper to the influence, moral and literary, of Byron, rather than to the political visions which haunted his cradle.

The loss of Alsace-Lorraine, an integral part of the old realm, no doubt weighed more heavily on French hearts than the retrocession of the spoils of war after the fall of Napoleon, but it is not the cause of the pessimism of to-day. M. Jules Claretie, when visiting the conquerors of the lost territory, wrote, "Twenty-seven years have passed, and our domestic brawls, insults, and animosities have thrust out of sight our simple and patriotic hopes of regeneration and revenge." The observant Academician is an ardent Republican who tries to make the best of the régime, so his reflections which the sight of Berlin inspired are valuable. The rancorous discord in French public life is a persistent source of the malady which has a more depressing effect than the distant memory of a sharp grief; and the steady growth of pessimism is a sure sign that there is something essentially wrong in the government of the country. The root of the ill is to be found not in its Republican form, though the democratic basis of that régime extends the area of the evil, but in the parliamentary system.

While it is an uncongenial task for an Englishman to condemn the parliamentary institutions of any commu-

nity, the day is past when an inability to appreciate them would be imputed to a people as a reproach. Even in the heyday of superstitious belief in the œcumenical utility of British institutions, the political educator, who later was adopted in that capacity by the nation which invented parliaments, sounded an audacious note of scepticism. "'I go to a land,' said Tancred, 'that has never been blessed by that fatal drollery called a representative government, though Omniscience once deigned to trace out the polity which should rule it.'" Mr. Disraeli, when he thus delivered himself in the Asiatic romance which he studded with his personal opinions, was a member of the House of Commons, and as he had a profound faith in his future domination over that body, he was by anticipation ungrateful for the fame he found there. His peculiar genius would not have reached so lofty an eminence in any other sphere. He was not an administrator, never once as a minister undertaking the drudgery of a departmental headship; nor is it easy to fancy him in holy orders, competing for the chair of St. Augustine. As an ambassador he might have shone, — but at an earlier epoch, when effulgence was encouraged in embassies. As a novelist he was incomparable, yet he failed to touch popular fancy. The House of Commons was his destined arena, and the estimate of this great Member of Parliament, who was moreover endowed with the cosmopolitan instinct of his race, is useful to recall, when France, having made unexampled trial of parliamentary government, has found it to be in the words of its consummate master "a fatal drollery."

Previous French experiments in representative institutions were always too short-lived, being abbreviated by

revolution, and were founded on too artificial a basis to afford material for judgment. But under the Third Republic they have been tried during a period of perfect peace and domestic tranquillity on a democratic foundation, under the most durable régime of the century, which has never had a serious rival; and out of these favouring circumstances the parliamentary system has emerged irretrievably discredited. The temperament of the French people is not the sole cause of its failure. A fundamental obstacle to thwart its working is its combination with a centralised administration constructed to be manipulated by one strong hand, and instead of modifying the defects of centralisation, parliamentary government aggravates them. The fatal incompatibility has been carefully studied in these volumes, and one only of its results need be mentioned here. An essential feature of a centralised bureaucracy is the profusion of offices held directly from the State; and the French have found out that whatever the evil of vesting their patronage in a strong central power, it is more harmful to the commonwealth to transfer it to the elected representatives of the nation. For, as we shall see, each member of Parliament, not hostile to the Government, thus becomes a wholesale dispenser of places, controlling the administrative and fiscal services in his constituency, and supervising the promotion of the judges. Moreover, to augment his popularity, a legislator likes to have as many posts as possible to bestow; so the tendency of representative government is to effect not economy but the multiplication of state-paid offices, ruining the finances of the country, and turning the industrious French people into a nation of needy place-hunters. Under previous parliamentary régimes this evil was not

patent, as the electorate was extremely limited, and if every voter in France had been given a post under Louis Philippe the bureaucracy would not have been unduly swollen; whereas with ten million constituents encouraged to regard their members in this light, the rich resources of the land are strained, and citizens are taken away from callings which increase the national riches, are deterred from colonial enterprise, and are generally diverted from ambitious pursuits which elevate the standard of a nation.

An Englishman who observes this sad state of things, and the depressing effect it has on some of the most enlightened thinkers in France, exclaims: "But why not do away with your centralised system, and give parliamentary government a chance?" The reply is, that if the Napoleonic fabric of centralisation, which has survived all the vicissitudes of the century, were demolished, it would bring down with it every institution in France with havoc more ruinous than that of 1789, and to build another structure, another Napoleon would be needed. It may be that he planned his reconstruction on wrong lines, as M. Taine objects, and instead of strengthening the centralising features of the old régime he would have done better to strew the land with autonomic institutions. But on his return from Egypt in 1799, ten years of revolution had made anarchy and chaos so complete that his genius alone could have saved the integral existence of France; and when mortals are endowed with superhuman power on rare occasions in the world's history they are not mild doctrinaires, nor would they be able to cope with the crises which produce them were their qualities those which befit benign constitutional organisers. It is, how-

ever, futile to dream of what Napoleon might have done, especially as subsequent events indicate that autonomic institutions would not have suited the French, while it is certain that the centralised system does conform to their wants and ideas. Proofs of this fact abound.

In the first place, while several times in the century the French have overturned dynasties and engaged in civil war, when the fray was over and the new régime set up, though the Government of the country was manned entirely with opponents of the previous dispensation, a material change was never essayed in the essential fabric of the Napoleonic construction. Secondly, though treatises on decentralisation abound in France, they show that the boldest practical conceptions of reform leave the centralised system untouched from our English point of view. They call to mind those radical schemes for re-organising our public offices at Whitehall, which new ministers with ingenuous zeal sometimes promote: three superfluous clerks are made to retire on full pay; three other clerks have their salaries raised to reward their labours thus increased, and the next year three new clerks are introduced to complete the old establishment. On a gigantic scale, such are the lines on which daring decentralisers in France would remodel the bureaucracy.

In the third place, the scant interest taken by French citizens in the important local governing bodies which they possess, shows that the majority like to depend on the central power for their administration. Here and there a population, as at Bordeaux, is inspired with an independent municipal sentiment, and in other localities, as at Marseilles, the presence of Socialists or other politicians of vivacious manners at a council board attracts

attention to its superficial proceedings: but the undertaking of projects which may possibly add to the weal of the community and will certainly augment its taxation is regarded with indifference. While writing these introductory pages I attended the opening session of the Conseil-Général in a provincial capital. Its public spirit had been roused the previous week by a state-visit of the President of the Republic, who had decorated with the national Order two of the members of the Council; so the inaugural addresses of the Chairman and of the Préfet, recording the honour paid to the departmental assembly, contained matter of more special interest than the usual financial exposition. But tax-payer and admiring fellow-citizen alike remained unstirred. Five unofficial spectators alone were attracted to the prefecture: two of them were reporters, two were experts employed in a technical matter, and the uncompelled audience consisted of one member of the public who was a stranger to the department and to France.

A fourth sign of the suitability of the centralised system to the French temperament is that not only it provokes no popular opposition, but its existence is approved by almost every Frenchman of eminence of the great class which takes no part in politics, and which brings the highest credit on the nation. Philosophers and artists, men of science and men of business, of various views on social and ecclesiastical questions, are generally unanimous in holding that the centralised fabric is necessary to the existence of France as a tranquil country in which art, letters, research or riches may be pursued. Before coming to France, my native prejudices against the principle of centralisation had been modified by experience at

the Local Government Board, where I had seen how salutary was the effect of a centralised control over elective authorities when exercised by impartial officials of high character. But that is a gentle form of centralisation, not incompatible with representative government, and an Englishman has an ingrained difficulty in conceiving a free community unblessed by parliamentary institutions; so when my observation persuaded me of their incompatibility with the French administrative system, I was perpetually pondering if it were possible for the latter to be decentralised so as to work healthily under Parliament.

It sometimes happens, in all branches of inquiry, that a casual conversation has more influence on the final judgment of an investigator than his most assiduous studies and reflections. Constantly revolving this problem in my mind, one summer evening I strolled up from the Seine to Meudon to see M. Janssen and his famous observatory. Astronomers are no longer consulted, as in days of old, on questions of government, though, if it be true that certain political sciences have been relegated to the planets, we shall have recourse again to their open vision: but there was a special reason why our talk turned to the terrestrial subject of centralised institutions. I had first met M. Janssen at Lyons, within sight of the summit of Mont Blanc, on which he has placed his intrepid post of observation, and he had come to aid a movement, favoured in that city, towards "University Decentralisation." The idea, the practical progress of which I hope to deal with one day, is not revolutionary, its aim being the creation in the provinces of establishments of Superior Education which will check the migration of the youth of France

to Paris ; and the foundation of Universities independent of the Ministry of Public Instruction is not contemplated. The retention of this jurisdiction led us to speak of the general principle of centralisation, and the venerable savant, himself a decentraliser, declared with strong emphasis that the system of supervision exercised by the capital on the local government of the country was the essential power which kept France together. I recalled that on the occasion when he came to Lyons, I had said to M. Jules Cambon, then Préfet of the Rhône, and now an Ambassador of the Republic, that amid my admiration for the organisation over which he presided, the thought surged up that if a British civil-servant of his eminence were sent to administer Manchester as the political agent of the Government of the Queen, that loyal city would be in insurrection in a week. But I also remembered to have seen the Préfet surrounded by the leading citizens of Lyons, distinguished men who devote their lives to the local institutions of the second town of France, the independent spirit of which is their pride. If therefore a great civic population, composed of conflicting elements, accept complacently the governance of an imposed authority, it is clear that the system is in accordance with the sentiments of the community. As we descended from Meudon the reflection of the setting sun on the panorama of Paris gave the illusion that its monuments were in flame, and called to mind the summer night of 1871, when the terrified dwellers on these heights looked down upon the incendiary work of apostles of local autonomy, which was not calculated to encourage in France essays in decentralised government.

The combination of parliamentary government with centralisation is a potent cause of the pessimism of French political writers. They see that the general result is unsatisfactory, and that some of the chief elements of the governmental system are immovable, manhood suffrage being as permanently established in France as the centralised administration. Thus the only hope of an improved state of things lies in the prospect of the voice of the nation delegating its powers to an authoritative hand instead of to parliamentary representatives. But apart from the retrograde character of such a change, which would sadden doctrinaires, no leader capable of touching popular sympathies has shown the faintest sign of existence. When he arises he may be the *bon tyran* of M. Renan's optimist dreams; but, on the other hand, there is always the fear of a shallow military adventurer being disastrously hailed to rescue the land from parliamentary anarchy. Moreover, the most definite prospect of ending the present state of things rests in the vague future which lies beyond the issues of the next European conflict; and war is so dreaded by the French, in spite of their martial temperament, that rather than contemplate its horrors they would submit to an infinitely worse régime than the present, to the defects of which the great mass of the population is absolutely indifferent.

Thus the pessimism which is now prevalent is for a paradoxical reason more wide-spread than that of previous periods. For the first time in France since the Encyclopædists began to undermine the old Monarchy, no one has a substitute to propose for the existing régime; under every other its opponents solaced themselves with

the thought that one day it could be dispensed with; and though this idea detracted from the stability of dynasties, it also checked the demoralising belief that however bad things were, no remedy was possible. Under the Restoration, M. Guizot's letters show that he was utterly discouraged at the convergence of the Royal Government towards the principles of the Holy Alliance: but the Liberals, with the precedents of 1688 always before them, were never destitute of hope that they would one day enjoy a statutory monarchy of the English pattern. So under the Second Empire Prévost-Paradol, long before he ever contemplated service under Napoleon III. or its tragic sequel, criticised the situation with such bitter raillery that his friends compared his talent to that of Swift; but the men of that time who thought themselves oppressed by Imperial rule were not hopeless. Republics in France had hitherto been intervals of turmoil and anarchy between a revolution and an autocracy, so knowing nothing of Republican government as a state of existence in time of peace, they invented an ideal which they hoped would take tangible form after the Empire had passed away.

The survivors of the Opposition of that day attest that the youth of France, under the so-called tyranny of Louis Napoleon, was as happy and as sanguine as it is now cynical or dejected. M. Lavisse, the Academician, who has all his life studied the rising generation, describes the gaiety with which youthful aspirants after liberty used to hiss Sainte-Beuve at the Collège de France, and Edmond About at the Odéon, because they frequented the Court, and their joy when they received from Belgium a contraband copy of *Les Châtiments*,

enclosed in a plaster bust of the Emperor, whose head they broke to the music of Victor Hugo's fierce stanzas.[1] The young men of the Empire retained their hopefulness beyond the misfortunes which produced the Republic, and it is only in its third decade that their disillusion has become complete. M. Sarcey, who has escaped the malady of the age by renouncing politics, except as a subject for reminiscence, writing of an old class-mate, Dionys Ordinaire, who was one of Gambetta's allies in the heroic days of the Second Empire, said, "Republic was for him a word of magic sound, capable of elevating the moral sense and of healing all the ills of humanity."

Short of such utopian ideals the Third Republic had every chance of bringing credit on Republican institutions and on France which adopted them. The prestige of the Third Republic would have been the great justification of the French Revolution, but the era in which its tradition has lost its glamour is that in which France has been in undisputed enjoyment of the form of government representing the principles of 1792. The most notable propagandist of pessimism in France has been M. Taine, and the chief moral result of his last great work is the irretrievable damage inflicted by it on the legend of the Revolution. If, however, the Republic had been strikingly successful, if it had employed in its service the worthiest sons of France, and encouraged politicians of decorous example, if the records of its legislature had been free from scandal, and if economical finance and useful legislation had been the product of the parliamentary

[1] *Jeunesse d'autrefois et jeunesse d'aujourd'hui*, par Ernest Lavisse de l'Académie Française.

system, the illustrious name of Taine would not have availed to discredit the great Revolution which the Third Republic claimed peculiarly to personify. It is, however, doubtful if in that case he would have denounced it so mercilessly. His criticisms of the old Monarchy and of the Napoleonic reconstruction show that it was not as a partisan of any régime that he attacked the Revolution. But he lived, the attentive observer of the unfolding history of his country, for twenty-two years after the foundation of the Republic, and instead of being the vindication of the Revolution, it justified in its annals the anti-Revolutionary judgment of the philosopher.

At the other end of the moral and intellectual scale there is a most dissimilar pessimist influence ever at work in France. The violent press ought to have no effect on the mind of the impartial student of French institutions, but he has to take into consideration its wide-spread power for evil. Every day throughout France are distributed tens of thousands of cheap journals, which, expressing every shade of opinion from the doctrine of the Commune to reactionary clericalism, have one feature in common, the scurrilous aspersion of public men. Sometimes the objects of their fury are not worthy of the high position to which the hazards of an ill-contrived political system have raised them : but as a rule the defamatory clamour has little relation with the real actions or character of the persons denounced. At all events, it is demoralising for the nation that those who read the newspapers in town and country should daily be told that all Frenchmen in authority, whether politicians, diplomatists, judges, or ecclesiastics, are tainted with vice or even branded with crime. The evil is spreading, as there are

provincial journals which outdo the most abusive prints of the boulevards in traducing the gallant chiefs of the army.

By eschewing the loud-toned organs which instruct the multitude, and perusing nothing in the press which is not signed by names of high authority, the newspaper reader in France does not escape pessimistic influence. One of the ablest of French political writers is M. Jules Roche, a former minister of the Republic. Summing up a series of elaborate studies on the parliamentary system after twenty years of undiluted Republican rule, he declares, "We are the worst governed country in the world; or I will say, so as to hurt no one's feelings, one of the very worst." This Member of Parliament may have personal reasons for not admiring the work of his colleagues; but M. Jules Lemaître is not a disillusionised politician: he has attained the highest honour which can crown a Frenchman's career, and an early election to the Academy ought to induce a cheerful view of the national life, at all events for a few years. But he asserts that France is in full decadence, and is going to its doom with its eyes open, for "never was a wretched nation more conscious of the ills which afflict it." He also says that "for twenty-seven years it has been a doubtful pleasure to be a Frenchman," so, as he was a boy at the time of the war, he has never known since he came to man's estate the pride of nationality. Both these writers diffuse their pessimism in a widely read journal,[1] attached to no party, before delivering it to the limited public which buys volumes of essays; and both of them, I venture to say, formulate their discontent in exaggerated terms, which

[1] *Figaro:* April 13, May 22, June 11, 1897.

represent the prevalent malady, rather than an accurate statement of facts.

Although in this work I have freely criticised certain features in the government of France, far from thinking with the Republican politician that his country is "the worst governed in the world," I should be perplexed to mention three nations which on the whole are better governed than France. Nothing which strikes the eye of the itinerant stranger suggests that the country is ill-governed, and he often takes home an idea, which we in England have put into aphoristic form, that things are managed better in France than elsewhere. Moreover, on the condition of never looking at a newspaper or mentioning a political subject, one might reside for years in the land without knowing that any one thought it was badly governed. No doubt in the daily routine of life incidents grievous to citizens arise, similar to those which provoke the plaints of Englishmen offended by the caprices of income-tax assessors or the whims of postal authorities: but petty dolours such as these do not depress the spirit of a nation, and we must take care to discern what the ex-minister means by ill-government. His strictures refer to the parliamentary system, which has been regulated exclusively by his political friends for twenty years; while the well-organised daily life of the nation, which is but little affected, is a striking sign of the excellence of Napoleon's administrative structure.

There can be no doubt about the pessimistic effect of a system of government which animates not only violent malcontents, but also moderate and authoritative writers to disseminate the depressing epidemic. For all that, the complaints of M. Lemaître, like those of the ex-minister,

are much too sweeping; for no Frenchman ought to despair, when he contemplates the orderliness, the diligence, and the thrift of the majority of the nation. The solid qualities of the people, first tested by the payment to the Germans of the colossal war indemnity, have reorganised the army and produced the wealth without which an alliance with another military power in need of loans would have been vainly sought by the politicians. Their own most tangible production has been unsound finance, with the consequent increase of the burden of taxation; and the indifference of a provident democracy to the prodigal proceedings of its chosen representatives is a sign of the unsuitability of the régime under which it lives and works, rather than of the decadence of the nation. The curious phenomenon has been fully dealt with in these volumes, and since they were written it has inspired another member of the French Academy with some of his most incisive observations on the ways of his countrymen. In one of his masterly studies of provincial life, M. Anatole France, describing how the laborious population of a department received the news of the arrest of one of its members of Parliament with the same impassibility as it would have heard of his nomination to an embassy, remarks: "Public opinion, which was a reality under the Monarchy and the Empire, has no existence in our time, and the people once ardent and generous are now incapable either of love or of hatred, of admiration or of contempt."[1]

None of the foregoing appreciations, it is to be noted, were uttered in the days of international isolation. They were all made after the visit of the Tsar to Paris, when a

[1] *L'Orme du Mail*, par Anatole France de l'Académie Française.

monarch, for the first time since France ceased to have one of her own, entered the capital in state, thus, it was said, conferring lustre on the Republic, and restoring with its European prestige the ancient blitheness of the nation. I saw the Russian sovereigns pass through the streets from the house where Talleyrand lodged another Tsar in 1814, and it was a suggestive spectacle to watch the elected chief of the parliamentary Republic pointing out the historical site to his august guests, the great-great-grandchildren of Alexander I. and of George III.: for it was within these walls that the Autocrat of Russia, being master of the situation, decreed that France should have a constitution on the model of that presided over by his ally the King of England,[1] who was not able to take an active part in the transactions which followed the fall of Napoleon. Representative government might have been tried in France without the intervention of the enlightened despot who had a taste for political experiments: but as it was actually first set up by the instrumentality of a Russian Emperor, it would be an act of justice if the friendship of his descendant could lead to a remedy for some of the ills which its later developments have brought on the French nation.

That the relations of France with Russia have not brightened the view of some of the most thoughtful critics is not a bad sign; for, while in my opinion there is no ground for their extreme pessimism, it is more salutary for the country that its sober thinkers should have escaped the strange doctrine propagated by politicians that the friendship of Russia has given France a higher rank among nations. A more humiliating theme was never

[1] The circumstances are related in vol. ii. p. 254.

uttered in the name of patriotism. France has never ceased to be a great nation, by virtue of the genius of its people, irrespective of international vicissitude: but if that people ever adopt the demoralising idea that their national prestige depends on alien protection, it will take a long step down from its high eminence. But no alliance, however gratifying to proper patriotic pride, and no military success ensuing from it, not even though it restore Alsace and Lorraine to France, will bring lasting satisfaction, unless a form of government be established capable of working well with the permanent institutions of the country. These are the Centralised Administration and Manhood Suffrage, and even though the master whom France is always looking for arrive, he will not enjoy a long reign unless he be apt to combine those elements.

Amateurs of the diversified French coinage of this century are familiar with a series of gold pieces of great beauty, struck when it was young, the oldest bearing the revolutionary date An XII, and the most modern that of three years later, 1807. They are still in circulation, and their unworn outlines tell of ninety years' hoarding, and betoken the national virtue of thrift, to which France largely owes its stability, while several generations of limners of the Mint have invented new effigies to distinguish passing dynasties. On these coins the image and superscription are worthy of note, not merely for their fresh preservation of Cæsar's finely cut profile, but because on their face is engraved "Napoléon Empereur," and on the reverse "République Française." Even before the term Empire was made official, the Republic was overlaid with Imperial trappings, and we all

know whither the pride of empire, which they symbolised, took the great reconstructor of France. Nevertheless the legend on these coins, with all its inconsistency, seems to indicate the form of government which France needs. Frenchmen who look with admiring eyes to the British monarchy, the subjects of which enjoy more liberty than do the citizens of their Republic, sometimes define our régime as an ideal Republican government with a sovereign at its head. The description is not inapt; but France, instead of trying to imitate our institutions, unsuited to the genius or tradition of her race, should organise her own, under an appropriate headship; and thus an Emperor, as the chief of a Republic, far from being an anomaly, might under favouring circumstances solve the unravelled problem of the century.

The word Emperor has no longer the unpopular sound in French ears of the years succeeding Sedan, when for a season the memory of the first Napoleon was involved in the second downfall of his dynasty. No one now regards Louis Napoleon as a Tiberius or a Nero; he is recognised as a well-meaning and ambiguous dreamer who drifted into destruction, carrying with him the nation which he had previously brought to great prosperity. One pernicious heritage left by him has abundantly developed under the Republic. After he had let Prussia, uninterfered with, clear the way at Sadowa for the conquest of France, and while he was devising the empirical remedy of a Liberal Empire for the danger thus assured, his Court became the centre of influence to turn Paris into a cosmopolitan city of boisterous luxury, which, encouraged within the palace, demoralised even the army of France. That evil no longer exists: what-

ever is open to criticism now in the nation, the army, in spite of isolated scandals, is exempt from the ills which deface political or fashionable society. But otherwise the social mischief thus sown in the capital has so spread that critics of the Empire are fain to confess that even its frivolous Court had restraining qualities which would be salutary for Parisian license under the Republic.

Never had a society such an opportunity for doing service to their country as had the higher circles of Paris after the war. Even after the politicians of their preference had thrown away their chance of governing the country, when the Republic was founded a self-respecting upper-class, well organised and vigilant, might have been a serious factor in French politics. If the Republic had been governed by men of genius or integrity, no force of aristocratic pretension could have impeded its popular career: but the ephemeral ministries of the Republic have not been so composed, and it might have had its days shortened if Paris had contained a society similar to that frequented by the Liberal Opposition under the Restoration, when the salon of the Duchesse de Broglie had perhaps more influence on the destinies of France than the writings of her mother, Mme. de Staël. If the circumstances are not analogous, the bearers of names once famous at Court or on battlefield and once associated with wit and intellect, together with other possessors of wealth, might at all events have so shaped the corporate existence of the leisured class of a great capital as to be an element in the political destiny of France, and to gain the respect of Europe.

Unhappily, the well-born and the wealthy class in

Paris has since the war pursued a line of conduct which has grieved all who love France, or who recognise the social danger of unseemly example in high places. In the course of this work I have been led to mention some of the features of that curious society, but in doing so I have followed the rule, which has guided me in dealing with every phase of French life, of never making a harsh criticism unless my own impression were corroborated by the published opinion of a respected and impartial French authority. For example, in treating of this subject I have not ventured to express myself as strongly as has M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu in the following passage, which, as it contains some significant English terms, would lose its force in translation: "Les hautes classes sont inconsciemment les grands fauteurs du socialisme. Leur vie est une prédication contre la société. La frivolité impertinente de la jeunesse de nos salons, l'oisiveté ridiculement affairée de nos *sportsmen* et de nos *clubmen*, l'étalage outrageant de la débauche élégante, quelles leçons pour le peuple de la rue!"[1] This is the calm judgment of a distinguished member of the wealthy class, who has no love for the parliamentary Republic, and whose philosophic writings, which have given him a high place in European letters, are free from all exaggeration.

M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu deprecates the ways of Parisian society because of its dangerous example: but equally eminent Frenchmen, less interested in the social question, deplore the saddening spectacle on other grounds, and it is one of the causes of the pessimism

[1] *La papauté, le socialisme et la démocratie*, par Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu: Membre de l'Institut.

of writers like the gifted Academicians whom I have quoted. It is indeed mortifying to a patriotic Frenchman, who by his talent maintains the renown of his nation, to see his beloved Paris, with all its past tradition and present capacity, assuming the aspect of a cosmopolitan city of pleasure, and becoming, in the eyes of strangers, a place like Nice or such like resort of idlers, where the foreign element leads the fashion, and where the affairs of the country interest no one. For the most conspicuous Parisians, whose exploits are most widely advertised, proclaim that, apart from their lighter relaxations, their gravest ambition is to vie with exotic foreigners in diversions imported from England. Thus accomplished Frenchmen, who would have shone in salons, lament that Paris is becoming an international casino : a sad fate for the brilliant city, in which, save in the darkest hours of the Revolution, for over two hundred years, from the time of the Hôtel Rambouillet to the death of M. Thiers, the intelligent commerce of refined men and women had a distinct influence on the history of France and on its place in the world.

It must not be thought that all French people of high social rank are given up to frivolity. Remote country châteaux are often the scenes of blameless and simple lives, while in Parisian society there are many excellent women who, not shunning worldly pastime, are devoted to good works. Moreover, even among the men there are a few fine patterns of conduct. As M. de Mun's life is passed in public, he may without impropriety be mentioned as an example of what a Frenchman of the upper classes can do who is set on maintaining the tradition of his race. I do not speak of the particular subjects which

he has studied, as their pursuit needs a special vocation. I merely refer to him as an instance of a well-born Frenchman of attractive social as well as mental gifts, who, instead of squandering them on the idle plea that the Republic gives no scope to a man of good family, has so cultivated all his powers that they have borne him to a seat in the French Academy. Another member of that company, whose origin exalted him above his countrymen, though it likewise brought exile and disability upon him, was a splendid example to the gentlemen of France. The Duc d'Aumale had no sympathy with the lives of that monarchical class which has hopelessly prejudiced the dynastic fortunes of his kinsmen; but neither the folly of Royalists, nor the outrage and injury inflicted on him by Republican rulers, diverted him from his nobly appointed mission to illustrate to his countrymen the duties devolving, even under unfavourable circumstances, on the possession of a great name and of great wealth.

One unfortunate result of the practices of "la haute société Parisienne" is to extend the pessimism, which we have been considering, to certain foreign observers, who have nothing in common with the pleasure-seeking immigrants from the East and the West, but who, at the same time, have no opportunity of seeing the more admirable phases of the national life. The most pessimist appreciations of France and its people which I ever heard from lips not French were those of a distinguished Ambassador to the Republic, a man of the world of cosmopolitan tastes, and blessed with a happy disposition for looking at the bright side of existence. The reason was that his ideas of France were taken from the society of aristocratic pretension, from the politicians of democratic

profession, and from the press. His experiences in many lands had taught him that an intelligent familiarity with those three elements in a nation usually afford some clue to its characteristics, its ethical standard, and its possible destiny. To draw conclusions from such objects of study in France seems the more reasonable because of their mutual dissidence, fashion and politics being completely antagonistic to one another, while in the newspapers the exponents of both are often treated with contumely. But general principles cannot be followed in appraising the French, and the elements which preserve them from the fate predicted by the experienced diplomatic censor are not palpably manifest to the view of even the most favored official visitors to France.

Apart from the mass of the people, with their excellent qualities of stability and diligence, there are three great but dissimilar bodies in the nation, the virtues of which counterbalance the ill done by the conspicuous classes whose words and deeds fill the newspapers. These are the Army, the University, and the Clergy. The virtues fostered by them, which are not practised by the political and fashionable classes, nor inculcated by the popular press, are a high sense of duty and a respect for authority, combined with unobtrusive hard work and vigorous abnegation. The entire manhood of the nation passes through the ranks of the army, and grave as is the economical aspect of compulsory service which takes from their training at a critical period the apprentices in every art, craft, and science, since Europe has to be a military camp, the army of France may be regarded as a national institution of beneficial influence. The officers usually set an example of devotion to their

duties, avoiding luxurious pretension even in the rare cases where they are rich, and a close study of garrison life has helped me to understand the general affection in which the French soldier is held whatever his grade. The respect for the uniform, no doubt, is greatly due to the martial instinct of which few Frenchmen are destitute; but for the practical enjoyment of that sentiment every French family pays in kind, and as, moreover, the peasant and the tradesman have a fervid horror of war, the universal popularity of the army speaks well for the general effect of military discipline on the nation.

The University is the technical term for the great teaching corporation engaged in the secondary and superior education of the country under the Ministry of Public Instruction. The educational system has become the object of severe criticism in France at the end of the century, when every Frenchman wishes to incite his neighbour or his neighbour's son to go to the colonies, as it is deemed to discourage initiative and to turn out youths who are fit for nothing but a life of routine. Pending the controversy on the need of educational reform, which I hope before long to deal with, the teachers engaged in secondary and superior education, who are classed together in France as Professors, form a body which is an admirable force within the nation. The devoted men who compose it have not the unattractive social habits of the professorial class in some continental countries, being often as refined as they are learned. Yet unlike our prosperous educators they are slenderly paid, and there are no pecuniary prizes whatever in their calling for even those who attain its highest posts. Their sole stimulant is thus the sense of duty which

guides them in their modest but momentous functions, and they pursue them conscientiously, rarely seeking for commendation outside their academic circle.

The third beneficial category in the nation is the Clergy. The old Conflict between the Church and the University, which raged throughout the Monarchy of July and the Second Empire, reached its bitterest pitch when a professor, M. Paul Bert, was chosen as the ruthless anti-clerical instrument of the Republic; but while the discord between free inquiry and dogmatic belief remains irreconcilable, circumstances have led the priesthood and the professoriate to regard one another less pugnaciously. In one of the life-like provincial sketches by an accomplished Academician[1] already quoted, a learned member of the Faculty of Letters in a country town and the Principal of the Diocesan Seminary cultivate a curious mutual friendship, in the course of which, while renewing their eternal controversies, they find that, seeing things from a higher plane than their fellow-citizens of the Republic, they have a bond of sympathy. Rare though such intimacies may be in France the apologue shows how the clergy may be coupled with their old antagonists, the lay professors of higher education, as a salutary national influence under the Third Republic, to counteract the ill example and debased ideal of those whose lives ought to be a pattern of conduct. The author of the *Vie de Jésus*, who had none of the injustice of an apostate, said of the order which he had quitted, "I have never known any but good priests";[2] and seven years of constant association with French

[1] *L'Orme du Mail*, par Anatole France.

[2] *Souvenirs d'Enfance*, "Saint Nicholas du Chardonnet,"

ecclesiastics of every rank have impressed the full value of this testimony upon me, who also regard the Catholic Church objectively, though not from the point of view of M. Renan. My studies on the Church in France, in the work which will follow these volumes, will fully deal with the condition and character of the clergy, and all that need be said of them here is, that by their lives and example they show how a celibate sacerdotal caste may be an advantage in a modern state. One of the objections to the celibacy of a priesthood is that it withdraws from the nation a generative force; but at the present hour, when the frugal caution of the peasantry is depopulating France, the regions where a normal birth-rate is maintained are those where the teaching of the Church is most heeded. The clergy represent all the best features of the French peasantry who form the robust backbone of the nation; for it is to be noted that they are recruited exclusively from that class and from the minor bourgeoisie. The descendants of the nobility which monopolised the rich benefices of the old régime, who, in the intervals of their modern diversions, profess loud devotion to the Church, successfully discourage their sons from entering the orders of the secular clergy, now that it is ill-paid, laborious, and virtuous. The parish priests of France, than whom there is not a more exemplary body of men in any land, illustrate the better qualities, refined by discipline, of those great categories of the people which constitute the real force of the nation.

In these volumes we shall not see much of the more excellent elements in the community, nor of the great mass of the people of France whose silent, sober energy makes up for the errors of its conspicuous classes. It is

particularly with the politicians we shall have to do; and while writing this work amid the calm which is the general characteristic of life in France, I have often recalled the words of one of those old Republicans whose eloquence and moderation raised the level of debate in the National Assembly, and helped to found the Third Republic which their respectable school was not permitted to govern. M. Laboulaye said, "We present the spectacle of a tranquil people with agitated legislators."[1] This was the experience of a veteran, who had seen men of the Revolution, and who had himself witnessed most of the political vicissitudes of the century, even before the creation of the Parliamentary Constitution of 1875, which was to enhance the truth of his aphorism.

The place of which I was the tenant in the Brie was an old ecclesiastical fief; so by a usage which suggests that France was not entirely renovated at the Revolution, we had, when Holy Cross Day came round, to give up to the village fête our rights over a green at the gates of the château. Thus my neighbour for several weeks each year was a philosopher who was the owner of a set of swings for the use of infants. He was a Parisian glove-maker, and as his trade was slack in the summer, he took his vacation in making the rounds of the rural fairs of the Île de France. Born under Louis Philippe he had seen a few revolutions and régimes, but had never taken any part in politics, though he had lived all his life on the turbulent northern heights of Paris, where the insurrection of the Commune broke out in 1871. He had never been Orleanist, Imperialist, or Republican, so he assured me; and the only indirect way in which he had

[1] Assemblée Nationale: Séance du 28 Janvier, 1875.

ever been connected with any political movement was after the Commune, when, as a fireman, he helped to quench the flame of the buildings set alight by the politicians. The experience of this sage is that of the great bulk of the inhabitants of France; they toil at their calling so long as work is to be done; they take their holidays happily, yet thriftily; and their sole participation in the politics of the nation is that their energy supplies the remedy for the damage done to France by political incendiaries of various denominations.

In a treatise dealing with questions of government the existence of worthy citizens like this journeyman of Montmartre can only incidentally be noticed; but in studying the political institutions of France it must always be remembered that, however unsatisfactory a spectacle the conduct of public affairs may present, the land contains several millions of worthy people of various classes engaged in the tillage of the soil, in crafts of skill and in commerce, as well as in intellectual pursuits, who are working, most of them unconsciously, for the benefit of the community; and, moreover, such lives abound not merely in the silence of the fields and vineyards, or amid the placid murmur of country towns, for Paris, the nursery of revolution, the playground of frivolity, the theatre of political adventure, is also a brilliant centre of intellect and one of the great workshops of the world.

V

The study of problems and systems of government is, even when inconclusive or perplexing, so interesting to mankind that a work which treats of those of a nation

whose political experiments have convulsed the world need not profess to have any other object beyond their historical and philosophical consideration. This would seem to be obvious did not certain writers on the institutions of lands not their own conceive themselves, as the result of their brief voyages of discovery, accredited with an international mission. "If," say in substance these modest optimists, "in revealing the inhabitants of one great country to another we have helped to clear away misunderstandings which result from ignorance, and if we have thus lessened the danger of hostilities between two enlightened peoples, we shall be sufficiently rewarded." The ingenuous idea of two nations learning to love one another out of a manual would not need attention were it nurtured only by sanguine authors; but for the purpose of cultivating a similar theory, societies have actually been formed. One of them tells the public that a more intimate knowledge of each other's language, social customs, and political institutions would lessen the danger of conflict between England and France. If there were any fear of this amiable delusion becoming current it might be dangerous, as it belongs to the same category as that cherished by the estimable Quakers who surprised Nicholas I. with a visit on the eve of the Crimean War. It may, however, be useful to point out that there is no justification in history for the propagation of this idea, and that there is no modern instance of a war between two countries being delayed for a day because their inhabitants were familiar with each other's way of life or of government.

On the contrary, since the Crimean expedition, which prophets said was to be the last "guerre de chancellerie,"

the last conflict in which civilised peoples were to be engaged without mutual animosity, simply at the bidding of their rulers, most of the wars in which Christian nations have contended, have been between combatants who had an intimate acquaintance with one another's language, institutions, and social customs. The most deadly and prolonged conflict of the second half of the century was that between the Northern and Southern States of America, the inhabitants of which were mutually possessed of all the knowledge which in the future is to make wars cease. If, however, civil war may not be reckoned, while it was going on, Prussia, aided by Austria, attacked Denmark for the very reason that part of the Danish population was so familiar with German institutions that it was deemed fit to make it enter the German Confederacy. Two years later, the victors in that fray having quarrelled over the spoil, the peoples of North and South Germany, whose common language was the basis of their intimacy with the social and public conditions of one another's states, fell to blows, and ended their struggle on the field of Sadowa, the most decisive battle of the century since Waterloo.

If we regard the relations of powers which have not broken the peace, we observe similar phenomena. Since the month of June, 1815, the period of the century in which England and France came most perilously near an appeal to arms was not when the colonels of the Second Empire — their martial appetites whetted by the Italian campaign — threatened us with invasion, nor when Republican love for Russian autocracy has induced attacks of Anglophobia. It was under the Monarchy modelled on the English pattern, when the foreign affairs of

France were directed by the most enthusiastic and well-informed admirer of English institutions the world ever saw. M. Guizot, the idolater of the British Constitution, the profound expositor of our national history, the intimate correspondent of British statesmen, was during his powerful ministry again and again on the verge of a rupture of diplomatic intercourse with Great Britain. His friendship with Lord Aberdeen may possibly have helped to ward off war in connection with the Pritchard Affair in 1844; but when Lord Palmerston came to the Foreign Office, it was M. Guizot with his policy in the Spanish Marriages who so embittered our mutual relations that Europe witnessed the unseemly spectacle of the British Ambassador in Paris publicly bandying insults with the Minister of France : while it was M. Thiers, with no knowledge of our people and their institutions, excepting such as was included in his legendary omniscience, who aimed at conciliating England.

At the end of the nineteenth century the same phenomenon is apparent; and on the face of the globe there is not a single instance of two nations which have a cordial feeling for one another due to their intimate acquaintance. The citizens of the United States are more conversant with our language, institutions, and social life than any other foreign people, yet we must fain recognise that their collective love for us is less evident than that of the Italians, whose knowledge of us is shadowy and traditional. Moreover, the real strength of the basis of the Franco-Russian alliance is the complete ignorance which the two contracting nations have of one another, excepting the fraction of the Russian upper-class which cultivates the lighter products of the French language.

While forced to recognise this deplorable truth, I consider that a war between England and France would be the greatest misfortune which could afflict the human race, and that scarcely any sacrifice, consistent with national honour, would be too great to effect the union of our two nations in the field, if we are fated to take part in the next European conflict. We have arrived at a stage in the history of the two countries which differs from any other which England and France have reached since they became nations. For the first time since the Norman Conquest three generations have gone by without the armies of England and of France meeting in battle array. The last of the veterans of Toulouse and of Waterloo have passed away, and it seems certain that, for the first time since the invention of gunpowder, there is no man living who has fired a shot in warfare between the French and English nations.

There were bowmen of Poitiers who lived to hear of their sons wielding the firelock at Agincourt, when already Joan of Arc was listening at Domrémy to legends of English aggression. After she had fulfilled her destiny in withstanding the power of England, rarely a decade passed without renewal of Anglo-French hostilities, till the comparative peace maintained by the first Tudor monarchs. Yet even in that amicable period there were three English invasions of France in half a century. Then followed the loss of Calais, Elizabeth's armed interventions on behalf of the Huguenots, and the expedition to La Rochelle, all within seventy years. When England ceased to be ruled by a king, and France was governed by a foreign priest, Cromwell and Mazarin agreed to keep the peace for a short season; but all the love of

Charles II. for Louis XIV. could not prevent their two nations coming to blows, and in 1666 we were actually at war with France. The military inaction forced on the English by the last of the Stuart line ceased, after the flight of James II., with the French invasion of Ireland, followed forthwith by the sea-fight of La Hogue. Thence Blenheim was only a dozen years distant, and there were young soldiers of Marlborough and of Villars at Malplaquet who fought as veterans at Fontenoy. Only seventy years then remained to Waterloo, a blood-stained period as crowded with French and British encounters as that of the Hundred Years' War with which this recapitulation began.

During all the ages that the English tongue has existed, and during the long evolution of the language of France, from the Langue d'Oïl, in which Froissart told the tale of Crécy, to the modern French in which Victor Hugo described the struggle at Mont Saint Jean, the generation of writers now growing gray is the first which has had no opportunity to supply contemporary chroniclers of French and English mutual slaughter. In the lapse of all those centuries there was never an epoch till the present in which old campaigners of both nations could not show their scars, made by French and English steel, to inspire their sons to renew the perennial feud; and for the first time the manhood of the two peoples have never seen mourning garb worn by their women as a sign that there were precious lives to be avenged in the next encounter.

The close of a century of the common era has come to be regarded as an important stage in the history of the human race, although it is such an artificial division of

time that many people are uncertain in which year it ends, and when its successor begins. Whether we quit the nineteenth century on the last day of 1899, or begin the twentieth only with 1901, it is devoutly to be hoped that for the relations of England and France the epoch may have no other importance than that of a date to mark the completion of an unexampled span of peace which gives promise of attaining unbroken its hundredth anniversary. But to aid that happy consummation is not within the power of any writer, however sincere his pacific ardour; for the issues which divide or unite nations are regulated by unexpected hazards which defy even the calculations of statesmen and divert the patriotic passions of peoples. The only advantage in this respect possessed by an assiduous student of two great countries is that his intimate knowledge of their inhabitants puts him in the position of a favoured spectator of their national life and of their international relations; so, calling to mind that the deity who protected the traffic of the book-stalls had his shrine hard by the gates which, opening or shut, indicated the imminence of war or the establishment of peace, he may say to his book on sending it forth: —

Vertumnum Janumque, liber, spectare videris.

BOOK I

THE REVOLUTION AND MODERN FRANCE

CHAPTER I

I

At the end of the nineteenth century there are two families of the human species of which the institutions and experiments, political and social, are of surpassing interest to students, statesmen, and philosophers. That the Anglo-Saxon race, in its marvellous expansion, should command their attention is not surprising, seeing how it has carried all over the globe the English language, imposing it, as well as versions of the mother constitution, on new communities of diverse origin, the largest and most mixed of which is not subject to the sceptre of England. But besides the societies peopling the British Empire and the American Commonwealth, there is a nation in the Old World which, though it has not expanded either in Europe or beyond the seas, is equally attractive to study. The frontiers of France are not wider than they were when the United States were British dependencies; its population has scarcely increased since our Australian colonies were constituted; its emigrants who go forth to distant lands with fixed intent to remain and to stock them with a French-speaking population are fewer than in the reign of Louis XV. Yet the people inhabiting this tract of the continent, their social economy, their ideas on government and the development

of their institutions, are as full of living and philosophical interest as those of any community on the face of the earth.

If this could be said of other nations of modern Europe the importance of France as a subject of social and political study would not be remarkable, for its high place is unchallenged among the great powers. But the interest inspired by each of the others is limited or special. Austro-Hungary is a collection of peoples heterogeneous in language and race; United Italy lives on the renown of the ages when Italy was a geographical expression; Russia is a quarter of the globe, of which the European fringe administers a score of races, mostly Asiatic, under the autocracy of an imported dynasty.

There is, however, one nation of Europe which can be mentioned side by side with England and France; yet Germany, which stands with them conspicuous in the front rank of civilisation, does not attract the attention of the outside world as do France, the United Kingdom, and Greater Britain. This anomaly is so curious that it deserves a short consideration. The Germans, having beaten the French on the battle-field, proceeded to new victories in the struggle for commercial priority, and having surpassed their neighbours in this contest, they are threatening the industrial supremacy of Great Britain. Scientific and systematic, they pursue the practical arts of peace with the same serious spirit with which they perfected the art of war. Nor is their energy entirely material in its aims. Learning and research are still cultivated for their own sake in Germany, and critical philosophy still has its home there. Again, the popula-

tions of both hemispheres are affected by the developments of the social problem in the German Empire, which is the chief centre of socialistic agitation in the world; while at the other end of the political scale there is a monarch whose unflagging youth has kept the eyes of all mankind fixed on his Imperial domain. But the Emperor is not the only German sovereign who commands attention. There is scarcely a throne in Christendom which is not filled by one of his race. In most of the reigning families of Europe, like those of England and of Russia, the strain is wholly Germanised; in others, like the House of Savoy, it is less so; but the general result is that allegiance to the institution of royalty in all civilised countries involves loyalty to a personage of German descent. Even in the line of Bernadotte, the last living and effective relic of the Napoleonic legend, since the son of the Gascon lawyer made a queen of the daughter of Clary, the merchant of Marseilles, German intermarriages have un-Gallicised the Swedish dynasty. Moreover if France had to take as ruler either of the pretenders who advance hereditary claims, the choice would have to be made between an Orleans whose father was half a German, and who himself has married a Teutonic princess, and a Bonaparte who has no French blood in his veins, but who had two German grandmothers.[1]

[1] The son of Bernadotte, who succeeded his father on the throne of Sweden as Oscar I., married the daughter of Eugène Beauharnais by a princess of Bavaria. His son, the present king, married a princess of Nassau, and the Prince Royal is married to a princess of Baden. The mother of the Comte de Paris was a princess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and the wife of the Duc d'Orléans is a Hapsburg. The two grandmothers of Prince Victor Bonaparte were a princess of Wurtemberg, wife of Jerome, sometime king of Westphalia, and a Hapsburg, wife of Victor Emmanuel, whose mother likewise was a Hapsburg.

Thus the prominence of the Germans in arms and commerce, in learning and sociology, to say nothing of their monopoly of the crowns of Europe, would suggest that the institutions of their fatherland, and the life and customs of its inhabitants, would have a claim on the interest of other civilised peoples as great as that inspired by the political and social features of France. This is not the place to demonstrate that it is not so, or to discover the reasons of the anomaly, but we may glance at one superficial sign of the truth of the proposition. The English are a Teutonic race, and the relations of England and Germany are intimate and manifold; but in the more cultivated circles of London it is probable that for every twenty persons who, questioned abruptly, could give the names of half-a-dozen French writers of the present decade, not one could mention three contemporary German authors; and if one so well-informed were encountered, he would be either an abstruse specialist, or a youth filled for a competitive examination with knowledge encyclopædic and momentary. The reasons, historical and actual, why members of other civilised communities take so little spontaneous interest in the life of the people of Germany cannot be enumerated here. The chief, perhaps, is that the Germans are burdened with a language difficult to master, which they themselves willingly relinquish for tongues more practical. By this faculty of repudiating what is indigenous the Germans seem to warn the world that nothing but their exports are worthy of attention. The flood of German immigrants who renounce their nationality to settle permanently in English-speaking lands, under Anglo-Saxon institutions, eschewing their own colonies, is an eloquent

testimony of the failure of Germany to inspire a durable interest even in native hearts.

It is not my intention to essay any comparison between the French and the German character. Here we have only to do with France, and there is no need to demonstrate that the French nation has that quality in which the Germans are lacking. All other civilised peoples look to France and to the human movement within its borders; and though its relative importance in the world may be less than formerly, with improved means of communication, which have developed its rivals, France has become an object of interest to a greater number of denizens of other lands than at any time since it became a nation. No doubt that interest is for the most part superficial. Still it indicates superiority in a race that strangers all over the globe should study, not as a passing fashion but with steady eagerness, descriptions of its life and manners as portrayed in romances and comedies. It is true that most of these works of fancy give an erroneous impression of French domestic ethics; true, also, is it that in spite of the vast numbers of aliens who sojourn or travel in France, attracted by its amenity, few foreigners have any acquaintance with the real elements of the French nation. Nevertheless it commands attention, not only in its lighter aspects of existence, but as a people which, in making experiments in the art of government, has caused more commotion and greater sacrifice of life and treasure than all the modern communities of the human race put together in essaying similar problems. It is in its quality as the land of the Revolution that we have now to consider the position of France.

II

During the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century the tradition of the great Revolution was so sacred in France that Frenchmen, in spite of the national pride which they cherish, seemed willing to ascribe their high position as a people in the ranks of humanity less to the prodigious genius of their race than to the political convulsion amid which the ancient monarchy and its institutions disappeared. The various régimes which subsequently succeeded one another were severally defended as phases of it. Thus Napoleon was the soldier of the Revolution, and the Empire its apotheosis. The Restoration with its Charter was the constitutional monarchy to have been set up by the National Assembly but for the king's flight to Varennes and the European coalition. It fell into anti-Revolutionary hands, so the Monarchy of July was put in its place under the son of Philippe Égalité, who was presented to the people by La Fayette, the inventor in 1789 of the tricolour,[1] now unfurled again. The Republic of 1848, of which Lamartine was the transitory hero, owed its unstable foundation to his eulogy of the Convention. The Second Empire, which suppressed it, was advertised as the assertion of the principle of the Revolution; and when the last Constitution of the century had to be devised the delegates of the nation, who hesitated about its form, agreed with overwhelming voice in their adhesion to the doctrine of 1789.

[1] La Fayette was not persistently loyal to the tricolour. In March, 1815, on the news of Napoleon's escape from Elba, he came up from La Grange to offer his services to Louis XVIII., and appeared at the Tuileries with the white cockade in his hat. — *Mémoires de La Fayette*, v. 5.

To the great book of the Revolution the friends and foes of each form of government set up in France turned, just as in our country rival religious sects cited the authority of holy Scripture: —

> Liber hic est in quo quaerit sua dogmata quisque,
> Invenit et pariter dogmata quisque sua.

In English history there has been no one era comparable to the French Revolution. There have been epochs of the highest importance, such as the Reformation, the Elizabethan Age, the Great Rebellion, and the Revolution of 1688, but there is no one cardinal period to which men have referred everything in the modern State. The most remarkable feature of the French Revolution was perhaps the immediate impression which it gave of its historical importance. As a rule the impressional reaction after a political convulsion is swift. A man felled to the ground by a fragment of his house, blown off by a passing gust, may suffer the same sensation as the victim of a tornado which has devastated a continent; but he soon recovers and recognises, in spite of his personal emotion, that the disturbance was only local. This, however, was not the experience of the witnesses of the Revolution and of at least two generations of their progeny. M. Taine himself, whose appreciations we shall have to take account of, having grown up among survivors of the period, could say that he had been able to write on it as though his theme had been the Revolutions of Florence or of Athens,[1] and this was not entirely due to his own peculiar objectivity. The French Revo-

[1] *La Révolution*, vol. i. Préface.

lution had raised itself before the eyes even of those who had involuntarily grown up in it as a barrier between modern times and the past. M. de Barante, the ambassador of Louis Philippe, who all his life recorded his impressions, noted that when, an observant youth, he entered the École Polytechnique under the Directory, only nine years after the fall of the Bastille people spoke of the Ancient Régime as of something belonging to antiquity or to a distant land.[1]

We who now stand on the verge of the twentieth century look back on the epoch preceding the French Revolution as belonging to the distant past, yet even our generation is not remote from it. A Parisian whose life was cut short before its natural term in the Presidency of M. Faure had as witnesses to her marriage three contemporaries of Robespierre and Danton, born when the mother of the Bonapartes was a little child.[2] Four years older than Charlotte Corday was the father of the Duc de La Trémoïlle, who was born in the reign of Queen Victoria. An old priest in the Sarthe still says his mass in the parish church, of which the previous curé was instituted in 1785,[3] when the clergy held a fifth of the soil of France, and their prelates were semi-sovereign princes. The span of life of some of our own country-

[1] *Souvenirs du Baron de Barante*, vol. i.

[2] The Baronne de Valley, murdered in 1896, was married at St. Germain l'Auxerrois in the early days of the Monarchy of July, and her marriage certificate, which established her identity, showed that her witnesses were contemporaries of Danton and Robespierre, who were both born in 1759. Letitia Ramolino, the mother of Napoleon, was born in 1750, and Charlotte Corday in 1768.

[3] The Abbé Paris, who became curé of Vallon-sur-Gès, diocese of Le Mans, in 1842, as the immediate successor of the Abbé François Pineau who was instituted in 1785.

men makes us realise more vividly how near we are to that great era. Mr. Gladstone in his last Ministry had colleagues between whose age and his there was a longer space of years than between the date of his birth and that of St. Just the Conventional, whom Thermidor brought to the scaffold; and the aged statesman left in the House of Commons an older veteran, who was learning to read when the Revolutionary Calendar was still used in France.[1]

We shall presently consider the causes which induced the survivors of the Revolution to look back upon it as a most imposing epoch, raising to heroic rank those whom it had produced. They in turn handed on the tradition to their sons, who inherited their reflected lustre. Hence the belief of the old men whom this generation has seen, such as M. Jules Simon, that the French Revolution was the greatest event, ancient or modern, in the history of the world. The venerable philosopher who, though a Republican, in the days when the creed was a disability, was treated as a Reactionary under the Third Republic, had opposed the Second Empire as the contradiction of his view of the Revolution. Yet there were supporters of the Imperial régime who were eulogists of the Revolution as eloquent as the Republicans of 1848. There was Sainte-Beuve, born ten years nearer to it than Jules Simon, whose devotion to the Second Empire did not prevent his writing: "If you would admire the French Revolution, study it: it came, like the Law from Sinai,

[1] Mr. Gladstone was born in 1809, forty years after St. Just, who was the same age as Napoleon. Some authorities make St. Just two years older, but books and prints published at the time of the Revolution give the date of 1769. Mr. Villiers was born in 1802, and was in his fourth year when the Revolutionary Calendar was abolished.

amid thunder and lightning; Fox spoke up for it, for the foreigner loved it as much as we did; Goethe blessed it: Schiller defended it; Byron celebrated it — all when it was only fifteen years old. In a hundred years it will be acclaimed as far as the land of the Samoyedes."[1]

That remote region is on the European frontier of Siberia, and Sainte-Beuve's rhapsody sounds like a prophecy, precociously fulfilled, of the Franco-Russian alliance, when the Tsar's Arctic subjects no doubt applauded their master's obeisance to the *Marseillaise*, and his amity for the Republic. But prophecy is an easier science than history, and the great critic in his enthusiasm ventured on the general statement that the foreigner loved the Revolution as much as did the French. If he had appended that remark to his citation of the three poets, it would have been less controvertible, as in all nations the poetical faculty is bestowed on man in the inverse ratio of his abstract love of law and order. But to couple the general proposition with the name of a foreign statesman, however sympathetic, was misleading, for the distinctive feature of the French Revolution, and indeed the partial justification of its excesses, was the hostile interference of the alien; and when Fox raised his voice in the House of Commons on the occasions cherished by his French admirers, Sheridan was almost alone to echo it. The talent of Sainte-Beuve reached its prolonged maturity when the Revolution was fifty years old, and had attained a wider esteem than it had previously enjoyed. In the early part of the century the career of Napoleon had made the Revolution an object of alarm outside France, rather than of admira-

[1] *Nouvelle Correspondance.*

tion. The Restoration was a period of recuperation which was not of a nature to attract much sympathy for France; but when the Monarchy of July came, with its sham air of 1688, then the Liberals abroad vied with the sons of the Revolution at home in their recognition of the grandeur of the palingenesis of France.

It was at this period that Macaulay wrote his famous essay on Barère, and belaboured that despicable member of the Convention with invective well-merited, but of a violence unworthy of the pen of a master of refined and noble language.[1] Yet amid the foaming torrent of his rage the great apostle of the Whigs becomes calm and judicial when he approaches the subject of the deposition and the death of the king. He complacently approves of the vote of the Convention abolishing the royal office; and when he comes to the regicide, though he mildly chides the timidity and vacillation of the Girondins who voted for it, in palliation he calls attention to the becoming emotion and broken voice of their leader, Vergniaud, when he announced the sentence. All that calls forth his fury in that grim scene is that Barère made a "lying" quotation from an ancient author unknown to Macaulay.

[1] "Macaulay a la main rude; quand il frappe il assomme" (Taine, *Littérature Anglaise*, liv. 5, c. iii.). This appreciation refers to Macaulay's harsh epithets applied to Southey. Taine, in his highly eulogistic criticism of Macaulay's fine qualities, ascribes his vehemence to the passion of the orator which called forth "la fureur de l'invective, l'excès de rancune." The essay on Barère is not mentioned by Taine, who, however, contrasts Guizot's dispassionate attitude towards the history of England in the seventeenth century and that of Macaulay, who lived again every day of the period as a contemporary partisan. But Macaulay did not become dispassionate in treating of the affairs of another country, and Barère provoked his wrath just as violently as did Archbishop Laud or Mr. Montgomery.

Now, apart from the estimate of the personal character of individual Girondins and Jacobins, this attitude of apology for revolutionaries, who confined themselves to regicide, and of reprobation of less moderate reformers, who sent also their colleagues to the scaffold, is consistent with Whiggism. The confiscation of church property, the execution or the deposition of kings were beneficent events which in England had put riches and government in the hands of a Liberal oligarchy; but that moderate revolutionaries should incur revolutionary penalties wholesale was unreasonable. Had not Hampden bled on the field and Sidney on the scaffold, and did not those vicarious sacrifices suffice to justify the enjoyment of power and place by their prosperous disciples from generation to generation?

The services of the Whigs to the English nation were large, and largely were they recompensed; but the French Revolution was a movement too rapid for them to understand, surveying it from the depths of their armchairs. The idea that the flood could have been stayed after the execution of Louis XVI. was as chimerical as all others founded on false and strained analogies between the precipitate French Revolution and the slowly successive political convulsions and reorganisations in England. Later we shall observe some of the ills which have accrued to France in consequence of the superficial resemblance of certain historical events in the two countries. One of them was pleasing the fancy of Macaulay when he wrote his essay in 1844, — the similarity of the position of Louis Philippe on the throne of Charles X. to that of William III. wearing the abdicated crown of James II., — and he seemed to think that notwithstanding the

savage blunders of the Terror, and the interludes of the Consulate and the Empire, France had arrived safely in the haven of limited monarchy, never to venture again on stormy seas of revolution.[1] The Monarchy of July was in many respects an admirable régime, but it had one grave defect, that of being wholly unsuited to the political temperament of the people of France. So while Macaulay was complacently patronising those portions of the great Revolution which reminded him of passages in the growth of the British constitution, native glorifiers of heroes of the epoch which had touched the fancy of the Whig essayist were undermining his cherished fabric of limited monarchy.

An event had just taken place fated gravely to affect the relations of the Revolution and modern France. In 1843 M. de Lamartine joined the Radical opposition in the Chamber where he had sat for ten years. He had not, like Macaulay, been brought up in a school of apology for revolution and regicide. Born in 1790, he was not one of those who imbibed in infancy the principles associated with that period, for, an aristocrat by instinct and training, he attained his fame as the bard of the throne and the altar, poetising the reactionary ideas which proved fatal to the Monarchy of the Restoration. After its overthrow he travelled in the East, bringing thence a stock of visionary ideas which finally turned him into a sentimental revolutionist. When double the age of some of his new favourites of the Convention, he announced that the French Revolution was merely an emanation of

[1] Twelve years earlier (1832) this idea predominates in his essay on Mirabeau, in which he describes the French Revolution as "a great blessing to mankind," the Orleans Monarchy having just been founded.

the idea of Christianity applied to politics.[1] In 1847 he published the literary result of his conversion, and in the history of letters no book ever produced consequences so formidable, so wide-spread, and so immediate as the *Girondins*. The mind of the public no doubt was ready for revolt. The government of M. Guizot was not popular; a wider franchise was demanded; and before a year had revolved the people, further irritated against the upper and political classes by the revelation of parliamentary scandal and the murder of the Duchesse de Praslin by her husband, being thrilled with the poet's romantic idealising of the tragic anarchy of the Revolution, made an end of the limited Monarchy.

At no moment was the French Revolution ever so universally acclaimed as in 1848, and no Frenchman born since the taking of the Bastille has enjoyed idolatry so complete as did Lamartine during his brief hour of popularity. The one element in the nation which had stood hostile to the Revolution now rallied to the movement led by the mystical singer of the sanctuary, and the clergy blessed the Trees of Liberty planted to solemnise the new era. But in vain did Lamartine refuse to accept the red flag which, with grim and ironical logic, the mob wished to impose on the government of the Second Republic sprung from his lyrics. His eloquence prevailed only for a short season over the disorder he had inspired, and before the year ended the people of France used their new franchise to call to the supreme power Louis Bonaparte, simply because he bore the name of the soldier of the Revolution who had turned its anarchy into order. Neglect fell upon

[1] "La France parlementaire," vol. iii. (*Écrits et discours politiques de Lamartine*, 1843).

the chief maker of the Republic long before it had turned into the Second Empire, and the pathetic vicissitudes of his declining years are a warning to poets not to descend from their dim heights to sport with the prose of modern history and of politics.

Lamartine did not initiate the revival of the revolutionary legend in the middle of the century. It was cherished in some form by all the moderate men of the day, like Sainte-Beuve, who has been quoted, and who scoffed at the profile of *Jocelyn* with which the creator of that romantic hero invested all the orators of the Convention. Among men of less sober opinion Louis Blanc and Michelet had, before the appearance of the *Girondins*, published their Histories of the Revolution which, in glorifying in cruder tones its excesses, were calculated to fire the fanaticism of Jacobins. It was a different audience to which Lamartine appealed; clothing the revolutionary idea in the music of poetry, he touched a chord in the human heart which the middle-class government had neglected, and attracted to the Revolution those who had regarded it with fear before he turned it into popular epic. His flowery profuseness, unlike the simple style of the great masters of the eighteenth century or of some of his contemporaries, has lost its charm. Yet even now those who have no illusions left about the heroes of the Convention, who agree with Lally-Tollendal when he said of the Girondins that "their existence and their death had been equally baleful to their country," can be infected with the emotion of the poet when they read his romance of Guadet, at the secret interview with the King and Queen in the Tuileries, kissing the sleeping Dauphin by the light of a taper held by the royal mother;

or the description of Vergniaud as the youth who with a gesture had overturned a throne.

The peculiarity of the Revolution of 1848, wherein it differed from the great Revolution, was that it gave the supreme power in the State to the democracy, which, though it had played a strenuous part all over France in the violent events of the last decade of the eighteenth century, had had nothing to do with the direction of the central government. The Convention of 1792 contained no men of the people, and the heroes celebrated by Lamartine, in the battles between Girondins and Mountain, were members of the middle-class whose domination he helped to destroy in the Revolution of February, 1848. The Days of June, in the same year, again differed from every previous revolutionary movement in France, as the aim of the insurgents was not to change the form of government, the Republic then having existed for four months, but to alter the order of society. It was this peril which alarmed the newly enfranchised population of France, so out of the Parisian barricades arose first the Presidency of Louis Bonaparte, and then, its natural consequence, the Second Empire.

M. de Tocqueville, because he had opposed the government of M. Guizot and was already celebrated as the discriminating eulogist of the new order of democracy, has had his name unduly associated with the democratic Revolution of 1848. He was, however, a close witness of its events, being a member of the National Assembly and for a brief season Minister for Foreign Affairs under the Prince-President. Never was there greater contrast than between the rhapsodic inexactness of Lamartine and the calm discernment of Tocqueville, who, when he

died in 1859, leaving studies in political philosophy more valuable than any others produced in the middle of the century, had not attained the age at which the poet had embroiled Europe with his youthful phantasies. The public careers of both were brought to an end by the reaction which ensued from the excesses of 1848; but Tocqueville, while he was still holding office under Louis Bonaparte, foresaw that the first durable result of universal suffrage would inevitably be an arbitrary monarchical government. The tendency of the popular voice was to invest the executive with the widest powers in order to be able to repress the dangers menacing public prosperity; and a powerful executive, combined with the centralised system perfected by the other Bonaparte, could not but lead to Napoleonic dictatorship in the hands of one who bore the Imperial names. Louis Napoleon took care not to let his triumph over the insurrectionaries of 1848 be considered as a victory over the Revolution. While he assailed the new Republic and destroyed its symbols, he persistently declared that the principle which he represented was the Revolution. When acclaimed on his progress through France in 1852 in the interval between the Coup d'État and the proclamation of the Empire, he accepted the cries of "Vive l'Empereur," he said, because his uncle, though he checked the excesses of the revolutionary spirit, had been the chief instrument to cause the benefits of the Revolution to prevail.[1] And so till the final scene in the drama of his dynasty, when, from the Imperial headquarters at Metz, Napoleon III. announced that "the glorious flag just unfurled before the enemies of France

[1] Discours de Lyon, 19 Septembre, 1852.

was the same which had borne across Europe the civilising ideas of the great Revolution."[1]

The reproduction of the Empire as the first result of popular suffrage in France was a great disillusion to the theorists who regarded sovereignty of the people as an emanation of the Revolution, and the Revolution as the source of liberty. Henceforth there was a tendency among philosophers to defend civil and individual liberty rather than political liberty, and to combat the principle of sovereignty of the people, which had given birth to democratic despotism. The abstract discussions of the Liberal school under the Second Empire had not much effect either in aiding the opposition to the Government or in altering the tradition of the Revolution.[2] On the other hand Tocqueville's writings on the Ancient Régime and the Revolution had a certain influence in suggesting the idea that the normal evolution of civilisation might have remedied the evils of the old Monarchy without the violence of the last period of the eighteenth century. The work which, however, was destined to affect the general estimation of the French Revolution more seriously than any previous philosophical study or political vicissitude, did not see the light until the Second Empire had gone the way of all the preceding doctrinaire, liberal, or democratic forms of government of which the existence in France had been justified by reference to principles laid down in 1789.

[1] Proclamation du 28 Juillet, 1870.

[2] *E.g.* the works of Jules Simon, who was the tutor, and of Prévost-Paradol, who was the friend of Taine at the École Normale.

III

In 1854 M. Taine, fatigued by his philosophical researches, which had already given him the repute of an original thinker, sought recreation in reading the *Histoire Parlementaire* of Roux and Bouchez, an authority on the Revolutionary period. He was struck with the intellectual mediocrity of the most famous men of that epoch of grandiose renown, and decided that it would be an historical phenomenon interesting to examine. This was the inception of the capital task of his life, his inquiry into the Origins of Contemporary France. Although the work was first conceived in the early days of the Second Empire, at a moment when he was suffering from its arbitrary vexations, there is little trace in it that he had any particular disfavour for that régime. M. Taine had such a power of detaching himself from surrounding circumstances that he was able to bring to bear on modern events in his own country the same powers of independent analysis as are seen in his erudite *Essay on Livy*, or in his *History of English Literature*.

The first volume of the *Origines de la France Contemporaine* did not appear until twenty years after his inspiration to examine the genesis and nature of the Revolution, and a quarter of a century after the need for such an inquiry had beset him, when, coming of age in 1849, he found himself invested, by the new system of manhood suffrage, with a vote, in order that he might not only make his choice of men, but show his preference for theories. As he was neither Royalist nor Republican,

Democrat nor Conservative, Socialist nor Bonapartist, he envied his neighbours endowed with political convictions, and began to ponder on the foundations of their faith. The war with Prussia, the Commune, and the harsh conditions of the peace of 1871 had afflicted him before the first pages of the great work appeared, and the minute analysis and classification of the persons composing the society under the old Monarchy, together with the rigorous conclusions derived therefrom, portended that his appreciations on the Revolution would not be in harmony with received tradition.

It is said that M. Thiers, in his last days, hearing of the coming work, exclaimed: "He must take care not to touch my Revolution"; and by the expression "my Revolution" the aged statesman did not refer to his own history of the change of things with which, as a youth, he won a front place in the brilliant literary group of the Restoration. He was giving expression to the sentiment cherished to the period of his death by most Frenchmen, excepting the fanatics of Legitimism, that the Revolution was a sacred manifestation which might be diversely interpreted, but never profanely assailed. M. Taine did, however, lay desecrating hands on it; he followed the injunction of Sainte-Beuve and studied it as it had never been studied, with a result contrary to that predicted by the older critic. His last work remains one of the greatest monuments of research and diligence ever reared in France, where literary labour is inexhaustible. Its peculiar feature was that it applied to the French Revolution the spirit of criticism which in the eighteenth century was one of the factors in producing the great upheaval. The *esprit critique*, which

helped to destroy the Old Régime, lingered in France, and had aided to make government unstable, while it discouraged faith and fostered pessimism; but never before had it been turned upon its own chief work.

The adverse judgments on the work of Taine were to the effect that the minute investigator of the dissecting-room was incapable of discerning through his lens the great organisms and their movements, of which he perceived only a microscopic fragment. It was said that while in his exposure of the excesses of the Old Régime he dwelt on the waste of wax candles at Versailles, he was silent as to the grandeur of France in Europe under the last kings of the ancient Monarchy; that while in revealing the anarchy of the Revolution he gave details of the outrages of village incendiaries, the imposing figure of Mirabeau is unnoticed on his pages; that while he emphasised the private defects of Napoleon, describing how he kicked a Senator and seized a Marshal by the throat in the council-chamber, he had never a word to say how he won the battles of Austerlitz and of Jena. All this may be true, but Taine did not conceive that his mission was to repeat the well known. He said of his work, that before he began it he was inclined to think as most Frenchmen did, only his opinions were an impression more or less vague rather than a faith, while his later iconoclasm was due to the conscientious and exhaustive study of documents. The Revolution was in his view the first application of moral science to human affairs, which were in a lamentable state in France in the reign of Louis XVI., and needed a more practical remedy than the crude philosophy of Rousseau, with its bad method and its false and precipitate solu-

tions. Hence the catastrophe of 1789 with its sequence, the imperfect reorganisation effected under the Consulate and the Empire, which has lasted all the century and, in his judgment, has been the cause of the political ills which have afflicted France and kept it down from the high place whereon the genius of its people would have set it.[1]

The working of the Napoleonic machine of centralisation in combination with parliamentary institutions imported from England, amid a people whose political ideas were formulated in the period of confusion in which the Ancient Régime disappeared, will be a prominent subject of this work. Neither the method nor the conclusions of M. Taine will be followed; but no writer who essayed to deal with the problems of government in France at the close of the nineteenth century could be indifferent to the philosopher who, more than any one person, has modified the aspect of the French Revolution. M. Taine's influence has been of a peculiar character. The movement and the resulting phenomena which he criticised were hastened by the critical spirit of the philosophers of the eighteenth century. But their works, considering the smallness of the educated class at that period and the dearness of books, were very widely read. The minor but more democratic Revolution of 1848 was, as we have seen, influenced by the publication of Lamartine's *Girondins*, of which the circulation was prodigious, edition after edition being read with greater avidity than was ever excited by any romance, though that was the happy epoch when novels were interesting.

The lot of M. Taine's great work has not been the

[1] Lettre à M. Havet du 24 Mars, 1878.

same. It stands on the shelf of every library, yet it is possible that in twenty years not more than two or three thousand Frenchmen have read the six volumes from beginning to end. For the author was forced by the nature of his investigation to depart from the graceful style which had charmed into insensibly studying some of the most profound problems of philosophy the idlest readers of his early works. Almost any of them one can read under a tree on a sunny day with as much ease as a volume of Voltaire or of Diderot, or, if in romantic mood, as Lamartine's legendary history, and with less cerebral fatigue than a modern novel, psychological or naturalist. But the *Origines de la France Contemporaine* is a treatise which demands attentive perusal such as only the student can bestow; though no modern work so richly rewards the explorer who finds in it the record of the period, drawn from contemporary chronicles and forgotten archives,[1] describing the life and agitation in village, market-town, and city, with the ideas and passions which moved to action peasant and artisan, bourgeois and functionary, all arranged with that classification and analysis of which Taine was the master. Thus the production of this work had no resounding effect in the streets or in Parliament. No election was ever affected by it, no act of the legislature can be referred to it, and it has rarely influenced the political action of a citizen of France. Yet it deserves the epithet epoch-marking more

[1] M. Taine has been censured by his critics for making use of obscure contemporary authorities whose testimony is of doubtful value, but as he once said to me, when talking about the best method of studying history, "Il n'y a pas de mauvais documents." The value of a contemporary record in the hands of a historian depends less on the character or position of the writer than on the use made of it by its discoverer.

than any book which this generation has seen, for the most striking tendency in French opinion during the last quarter of the century is the change of mental attitude towards the Revolution; and if the thunderings and lightnings and noise of the trumpet have lost their Sinaitic prestige, so that the great convulsion is now regarded merely as a historical phenomenon like the Wars of Religion under the last of the Valois, or the reorganisation of France by the Kings who came next, that result is chiefly due to the intellectual effort of one sedentary philosopher.

IV

Though M. Taine did not anticipate that his work would influence the government or administration of France in his lifetime, one immediate effect of his criticism was the vehement defence of the Revolution by some of its more extreme champions. The centenary of the events succeeding the fall of the Bastille had arrived, and M. Sardou in 1891, prematurely celebrating the close of the Terror, produced at the Théâtre Français a play entitled *Thermidor*, representing the downfall of Robespierre in the month of 1794 which bore that name in the Revolutionary Calendar. The House of Molière belongs to the State, and the Terrorists were not amiably depicted by the Academician, so the Radicals pressed the Government of the Republic not to allow scenes of the Revolution to be held up to scorn on the national stage. In the Chamber M. Clemenceau demanded the interdiction of the piece in one of those improvised harangues in which he used to display the keen edge of his trenchant talent,

declaring that the Monarchists who applauded the drama had become Dantonists in their desire to have Robespierre held up to reprobation, and adding, "the Revolution is a block from which nothing can be taken away."[1]

Apart from the question of representing scenes of recent history at a national theatre, there was much to be said for M. Clemenceau's theory of the "block." The difficulty of applying it to a proper appreciation of the French Revolution is that no two admirers of that movement are agreed as to the composition of the "block." Where did the Revolution end? or where ought it to have ended to merit the praises of right-thinking men? Are we to reprobate Robespierre and approve the acts of Danton, or are our tears to be reserved for the untimely end of the Girondins? Macaulay, as we have seen, seemed to think that if the Convention had stopped at the deposition of the king it would have carried out a praiseworthy revolution on a wholesome English model. Mme. de Staël, whose writings had a great influence on the Liberals under the Restoration in their interpretation of the Revolution, conceived that its proper term was 1791, when, but for the Emigration, a constitutional monarchy might have been possible; so, as the Restoration produced that admirable British institution, 1814 was the direct sequence of 1791, and all that occurred in the interval were illegitimate additions to the great Revolution.[2] The Radicals who applauded M. Clemenceau's theory of the "block" intimated their approval of the Terror, and in defending the memory of Robespierre showed their adherence to the popular idea that he was

[1] Chambre des Députés, 29 Janvier, 1891.

[2] *Considérations sur la Révolution Française* (1818).

a democrat with a thirst for blood. But the more light there is thrown on his grim figure the more clear it seems that he aimed at being a politician of the type known under the Third Republic as "a man of government," and therefore opposed to the views generally held by his modern partisans of the Extreme Left. Napoleon believed that his intention was to re-establish order after destroying all the revolutionary factions; but while he thus appreciated the character of Robespierre, to whom he owed his early opportunities, the career of General Bonaparte might have been restricted had the Terrorist chief survived, for, if he were not playing for his own hand, he probably contemplated the restoration of the Comte de Provence. Some day, perhaps, the correspondence between Robespierre and the future king will reveal the real reason for Louis XVIII.'s favourable opinion of him. Meanwhile, we know that it was he who began the reaction; and though Royalist heads fell wholesale in the Terror, the most conspicuous victims were the leaders of the revolutionary groups, Feuillants, Girondins, Cordeliers, Hébertists, and Dantonists being in turn sent to the scaffold by Robespierre.[1]

[1] The testimony is chiefly circumstantial which supports the theory that Robespierre was not the victim of Reaction, but was destroyed as a Reactionary by the surviving Revolutionaries, who saw that their turn was coming. Napoleon's strong view on the subject is found in the *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène* and in the *Relation du Docteur O'Meara*. It seems probable that most of the documentary evidence was destroyed. Courtois, a regicide member of the Convention, was charged with the examination of the papers of Robespierre after his fall, but the report he drew up in 1794 was considered by Robespierre's sister to be a mendacious compilation. Courtois had, however, all his correspondence, and seems to have given up to the First Consul the letters he, when General Bonaparte, had written to Robespierre. Courtois was exiled after the Restoration, but M. Decazes, the favourite and minister of Louis XVIII., was sent

The Republicans who survived did not make a signal success of the Directory, which led up to the most momentous of all the phases of the Revolution. The Coup d'État of Brumaire, when Bonaparte, returning from Egypt at the end of 1799, seized the supreme power, was so far the most important portion of the revolutionary "block" that it cannot be dealt with in passing mention. But, before observing its effect, we will pass for a moment to later events in the history of France which have been deemed to form part of the Revolution. The Restoration was hailed by Mme. de Staël as the consummation of the upheaval of 1789. But 1830 supervened, when with the definite triumph of the middle-class, as Tocqueville said, "The first period of the Revolution ended, for there has been only one Revolution, the beginning of which our fathers saw, and of which we are not likely to see the end."[1] The downfall of the Monarchy of July produced the democratic phase of the Revolution, the tangible result of which was the Second Empire, created by the first exer-

after him, just before his death in 1816, and got from him twenty letters written by the future King to Robespierre. Mlle. Robespierre had a pension granted to her by Bonaparte when First Consul, which was continued by Louis XVIII. till 1823, when it was stopped for some reason connected with the Courtois papers.

[1] *Souvenirs d'Alexis de Tocqueville*, partie 1. This idea is constantly found in his writings. In the second part of his *Souvenirs* he returns to it in his reflections on the Revolution of 1848. After each change of government up till then, he writes, "It was said that the French Revolution, having accomplished its work, was finished, . . . and here it is beginning afresh. Shall we ever arrive at a social transformation more complete than that which our fathers wanted, or are we merely on the road to that intermittent anarchy, the well-known and incurable malady of old peoples? I often ask if this land, which we have been seeking for so long, exists, or if our destiny is not to plough the sea eternally?" (1850.)

cise of manhood suffrage. That régime gave way to the Republic, not from the movement of opinion in the direction of Republicanism, though there were signs of such a tendency before the War, but in consequence of military disaster, and the subsequent inability of the monarchical parties to concert any other form of government.

The more emphatic admirers of the violent portions of the first Revolution, including most of those who specially resent the conclusions of M. Taine, have a theory that the Republic is the sole legitimate offspring of the Revolution. It was ingeniously expounded by an eloquent successor of the Jacobins, M. Challemel-Lacour, whose character much more resembled that of Robespierre than did that of the Radicals, who disliked his authoritative temperament. At the centenary of the First Republic he asserted that "the Republic, since September 22, 1792, had not ceased for a single moment to live its latent life as a government in reserve for the salvation of the country."[1] No doubt it was pleasing for Republicans to feel that the régime of their preference had never ceased to exist since it was set up three weeks after the Massacres of September; but the doctrine of latent existence had often been applied by their adherents to other intermittent forms of government in France. It was originally borrowed from England, where the public acts of Cromwell officially belong to the first decade of the reign of Charles II., and there the permanent re-establishment of the monarchy justified the fiction. In France it has been used since the Revolution with less success. It was the basis of Mme. de Staël's idea

[1] Discours au Panthéon, 22 Septembre, 1892.

that the governments between the abolition of royalty and the Restoration were of no account, and it was adopted by the Comte de Provence, who accordingly was deemed to have inherited the crown on the death of his nephew in the Temple, five months before the Directory came into being: so General Bonaparte won the battle of Rivoli, and the Emperor Napoleon that of Jena, in the second and twelfth years, respectively, of Louis XVIII.'s reign.[1] Louis Napoleon, when in 1852 the Senators and Deputies brought the news to him that the plebiscite had made him Emperor, recognised the prevalence of the doctrine, and felt constrained modestly to say to them, "My reign does not date from 1815, but only from this moment of your announcement of the will of the nation."[2] Nevertheless in styling himself, by accident or design, Napoleon III., he signified that the Empire had continued in the person of the Duc de Reichstadt, who until his death at Schoenbrunn in 1832 was the second Napoleon of the dynasty. The idea of the Republic, ever latent under all other forms of government, is indicated by certain journals of the Extreme Left, which are still dated according to the Revolutionary Calendar, whereof the Year One began on the day commemorated by M. Challemel-Lacour; but the principle underlying it is dangerous to apply to an existing régime in France, as it suggests the possibility

[1] Louis XVII. died June, 1795: Rivoli was fought in January, 1797, and Jena in October, 1806.

[2] St. Cloud, December 1, 1852. The same week in the House of Lords, Lord Malmesbury, who was a personal friend of Louis Napoleon as well as Foreign Secretary, took pains to explain that the title "Napoleon III." implied no pretension to Imperial heredity contrary to the Declaration of the Congress of Vienna.

of its resuming its state of latency, while another underground stream bubbles up for a visible course.

Thus there is no harmony of opinion either as to the limits of the French Revolution, or as to the form of government which was peculiarly its offspring. If the extreme view of Tocqueville be taken, we may consider the Revolution still in full operation more than a century after its start. But a century after the assembly of the States-General it is not easy to distinguish which social phenomena are the result of the national upheaval, and which the result of the general progress of civilisation in the human race. Our English fathers considered the revolutionary period to have ended with the second entry of the Allies into Paris in 1815,[1] and the inclusion in it of the First Empire is adopted by modern admirers of the Napoleonic legend who regard its events from a very different point of view. It is impossible to take a date or a crisis, and to say that this was the boundary of the Revolution proper. The twenty years from the fall of the Bastille to the battle of Wagram perhaps constitute a term convenient to be regarded as the revolutionary period, as they include both the epoch of disintegration, which alone did not constitute the Revolution, and the succeeding season of reorganisation. From 1809 there

[1] A copious work in two large volumes was published at the end of the reign of George III., by "Hewson Clarke, Esq.," which, though without literary value, is a storehouse of curious contemporary information on the events in France, the British Isles, and Europe during the previous thirty years. FRENCH REVOLUTION is the most conspicuous line of the title-page, which sets forth that it is "An impartial History of the naval, military, and political events in Europe from the commencement of the French Revolution to the entrance of the Allies into Paris, including biographical memoirs of Buonaparte and a narrative of the progress of that Revolution to the conclusion of a general peace."

was no more constructive policy accomplished by the reconstructor of France. The glories of the Empire for a moment continued to expand, but the wars and alliances had now departed from their revolutionary basis, and had become the tools of a conqueror's ambition.

V

If the day be past of sentimental enthusiasm for the French Revolution, its close study, while revealing the unheroic horrors of the period, convinces the impartial student that it was inevitable. The pitiless narrative of Taine displays how swift was anarchy to follow the first movement, and how its violent expansion throughout the land was turned to the profit of the disorderly and marauding classes. But the material did not exist in France to stem the flood of anarchy, once it had begun to overflow. In no other revolution did ideas or abstractions play so large a part, and this was why its early stages appeared grandiose to the imagination ; but man is not an abstract being, and theoretical ideas alone could not cause a revolution, even in a community imbued with the philosophy of the eighteenth century. The Revolution was intensified by the preaching and application of crude doctrine, but its cause was the financial disorder of the State and the oppressive incidence of taxation. It was inevitable because of the immense misery and discontent caused, first, by the mismanagement of the public finances together with the extravagance of the Government and the Court, and, secondly, by the ever increasing multitude of privileged persons whose exemption from

taxation threw the burden more grievously on the poorest portion of the population.

The suppression of that system of privilege was the chief object of the Revolution. It destroyed at the same time the last vestiges of feudalism ; but, as was remarked by a witness of 1789, Chancellor Pasquier, so little remained of feudality that it had become an almost meaningless word, the one question in dispute between the nobility and other citizens being that of pecuniary privilege.[1] Moreover the persons enjoying it were not all members of an exclusive, high-born, or territorial caste, or merely the absentee courtiers of Versailles devouring the substance of their dependents in the luxurious royal circle. Every year, in all parts of France, persons of obscure origin were invested with dignities, sometimes in virtue of judicial or municipal office, sometimes by purchase, which gave them noble rank, exempted them from taxation, and even accorded them the right to exact dues from the most heavily burdened section of the Third Estate. This wholesale multiplication of petty nobility accounts for the great number of families still surviving in France which claim a noble origin of date anterior to the lavish creations of unprivileged titles under the Empire. Moreover, without being ennobled, a large proportion of the bourgeoisie most capable of paying, including public functionaries and lawyers, as well as the inhabitants of certain towns, enjoyed greater or less exemption. Thus the heaviest imposts fell on the labourers, who had no possession save their tools and their hands, on the inhabitants of the miserable villages of the Old Régime, and on the small proprietors who cultivated their own plots

[1] *Mémoires du Chancelier Pasquier*, vol. i.

of ground. For it was not the Revolution which made the peasant a land-owner; during the whole of the eighteenth century he had acquired the soil, with a passionate craving, clad in rags and concealing his hoard from the tax-collector till the occasion offered when he could buy cheaply a scrap of land.

The question of the right to levy taxes and of their incidence has in various forms had great effect on the history of revolutions in both hemispheres, and here it touched the population in every corner of the realm. The grievance was so wide-spread that it produced a general popular movement, a phenomenon so rare in France that it has never since been repeated, though revolutions have changed its forms of government, and plebiscites have recorded temporary phases of opinion. The universal diffusion of the wrong accounts for the swiftness with which the Revolution spread at an epoch when news travelled slowly. Even a generation later, when M. Jules Simon first came to Paris from Brittany under the Restoration, it took as long to travel from Brest to the capital as is now taken in going from that port to America, in so primitive a state had the great Revolution left provincial France. Of the slow circulation of news while it was in operation we have a witness from England. When the Bastille fell, Arthur Young was travelling in Alsace-Lorraine, and a fortnight later came to Besançon. "From Strasbourg hither," he writes on July 27, 1789, "I have not been able to see a newspaper. For what the country knows to the contrary their deputies are in the Bastille instead of the Bastille being razed, so the mob plunder, burn, and destroy in complete ignorance." Thence he crossed Burgundy, hearing of châteaux being fired or

sacked, and inquiring whether it were the work of peasants or of brigands, yet when he reached Moulins, at the best house-of-call he "might as well have demanded an elephant as a newspaper. In the capital of a great province, with a National Assembly voting a revolution, not a newspaper to inform the people whether Fayette, Mirabeau, or Louis XVI. is on the throne."

All the doctrines of Rousseau and of the philosophers would not have carried the insurrection beyond the walls of Paris and the great towns, but for the universal unhappiness throughout the length and breadth of France caused by the fiscal system. Its oppressiveness made the people welcome anarchy and join with the marauding class in their work of rapine, while the representatives of the nation in the capital were making the anarchy irremediable by their work of demolition. Here and there in the annals of the Constituent and Legislative assemblies some constructive act is recorded, sometimes of permanent value, but the words which perpetually meet the eye in them are "suppression," "abolition," and "suspension." Many of the men of 1789 began their work inspired with noble motives, but they neglected the precaution which the most elementary architects even among primitive peoples observe, not to destroy the foundations of a fabric which it is intended to remodel if it has to be inhabited during the reconstruction. To the ruin of the edifice of central government was added the confusion of a people in insurrection; and while rhetoricians frothed at the top of the seething society, its dregs were an active element in the angry fermentation which stirred up the whole intermediate mass. France, with all its splendid tradition and civilisation, could not have escaped extinction in this overwhelming

and inexorable cataclysm, but for an influence which at first aggravated its horrors.

VI

On the 11th of July, 1792, the country was declared in danger, and to intimidate the foreign invader was made the excuse for every species of blood-stained excess. But though soon, in the words of its apologist, "the guillotine was the only institution in France and the government was the scaffold,"[1] the king being followed to it by his judges as well as by droves of innocent victims, and though humanitarian philosophy had led to such depths of inhuman ferocity that to see unfortunates sent to execution was a spectacle to which the mothers of Paris brought their children,[2] another current of sentiment was running, which though fierce was not debased. The battalion of Marseillais, which passing through Paris on the way to the frontier was utilised by Danton and Marat in the carnage of the Tuileries on the day of the downfall of the Monarchy, brought with it the song which, though composed in Alsace by a native of Franche-Comté,[3] has for ever associated the name of Marseilles with the most thrilling battle-cry of patriotism ever called forth by national peril. Here we see the

[1] Lamartine, *Histoire des Girondins*, livre 52.

[2] The famous *tricoteuses* who used to attend the sittings of the Revolutionary Tribunal did so by virtue of the Decree of "6 Nivôse An II." (December 26, 1793), passed in the middle of the Terror, which provided that "les femmes pourraient assister aux séances avec leurs maris et leurs enfants et y tricoter."

[3] Rouget de Lisle, who was born in the Jura, composed the "Marseillaise" at Strasbourg in April, 1792, and it was brought to Paris by the Marseillais who took part in the sack of the Tuileries on August 10, 1792.

double phase of the Revolution. The volunteers who massacred the nobles and the Swiss Guard and sacked the palace were mere murderous insurgents; but marching to meet the Prussians at Valmy and Jemmapes they were ennobled into saviours of their country. To have taken part in those two victories of the Revolution was the greatest pride of Louis Philippe, whose valour on those fields as the youthful Duc de Chartres, distinguished his revolutionary renown from the sinister record of his father, Philippe Égalité,[1] chiefly associated with the deeds of Convention, though he too had taken part in military operations on the frontier.

The grandeur of the Revolution in the eyes of those who had witnessed it, or had received its tradition from actors in it, would not have been apparent without its patriotic aspect and its military glory. The disciples of the men of 1789, who deplored the violence of the subsequent period, might say that in addition to abolishing the Old Régime with its iniquitous fiscal system (which was a high claim to the gratitude of mankind), they enunciated principles so exalted that the issue of the Declaration of the Rights of Man sufficed to glorify the movement as the era of a perfect gospel. But beauty of sentiment flourished equally in conjunction with the most violent and cruel phases of the Revolution. As Lamartine said of the Constitution drawn up by Robespierre as a prelude to the Terror, "it recalled the pastoral

[1] The Duc d'Aumale, who, unlike some of his less distinguished relatives, did not disclaim the revolutionary tradition of his family, was fond of relating the story of his father's visit to Danton, when Dumouriez sent him to Paris to bear the news of Valmy to the Convention. "Jeune homme," said Danton to the young Louis Philippe, "ne vous mêlez pas de politique. Laissez nous faire cette besogne et retournez à l'armée."

republics of Plato or of Telemachus; God and the people, justice and humanity, inspiring every page of it."[1] In nobility of principle the moderate men of '89 have no advantage over the Jacobins of '93, and it was the improvident destructiveness of the former and their incapacity to govern which delivered the destinies of France into the hands of the Terrorists; for the anarchy which reigned for ten years was the immediate effect of the precipitate overthrow of the ancient authorities, and the insufficiency and the discord of the new rulers.

If France had not been delivered from that anarchy by the indirect means of exterior military conquest, and reorganised by the same instrument, little would have been heard of the grandeur of the French Revolution, though some of the most ecstatic in its praise are those who most deplore the means which made it glorious and fashioned out of its chaos a new France. From the life of Barère and its laudatory treatment by Hippolyte Carnot, some idea may be gathered of what the Revolution would have been like without its military aspect. It is clear that a servile, cruel, and cowardly profligate was accounted one of its heroes by the son of one of the few who had brought lustre on the Revolution. But military glory was the sole title to eminence of the name bequeathed to Hippolyte Carnot. As a regicide, as a member of the Committee of Public Safety, and as a Director, Lazare Carnot would have been less remembered than his colleague Barras, not having had the conspicuous vices of that other worthy of the unwarlike phases of the Revolution. But as "the Organiser of Victory" he handed down a legend which marked out

[1] *Histoire des Girondins*, livre 39.

his estimable grandson to represent France before Europe, when the Third Republic was bringing discredit on democratic institutions, and to save it, it was necessary to show that there were revolutionary traditions neither sordid nor disorderly.

Not long after M. Sadi Carnot's election to the Presidency an appreciation of the Revolution was made in its centenary year, remarkable for the circumstances under which it was uttered by one of the most authoritative voices of France. A talented man of letters, in his political capacity an ardent Republican, M. Claretie, the Director of the Théâtre Français, was received at the French Academy by M. Renan. They had first met at the house of Michelet, whose exclusion from that eminent company is regretted by many who have not for the eloquent historian's revolutionary enthusiasm the sympathy of M. Claretie. M. Renan, whose iconoclasm was usually applied to legends of origin earlier than 1789, might have been expected to treat the Revolution with the mellifluous optimism, or gentle irony, which he usually extended to modern subjects, but departing from his wonted style he thus addressed the new Academician: "If we turn away from the grandiose fatality of the Revolution, all that is left is odious and horrible: a nameless orgie, a monstrous fray into which madmen, incapables, and miscreants rush, told by their instinct that their opportunity is come, and that victory is for the most repulsive of mankind. Every crime and every insanity seem to have united to produce the success of the Days of the Revolution." This was the language not of an improvised polemic in the lips of a Reactionary, but of an academical discourse pronounced by a sage whose

career and opinions made him appear to be a son of the Revolution. It was the centenary of the one year in that epoch which unites nearly all Frenchmen, yet M. Renan having deliberately to choose his phrases and to submit them to his colleagues before uttering them, deemed it right to thus express himself in welcoming to the Institute the friend of Michelet and the eulogist of Camille Desmoulins.[1]

If after the death of Louis XVI. the European coalition had left France to work out its destiny without interference, the Revolution would have had no other aspect in the eyes of posterity than that which provoked M. Renan's unwontedly sombre epithets. Everything indicates that the Jacobins, after devouring the Girondins, would have proceeded to prey on one another, just as they did when the enemy was on the frontier. Nor was the anarchy which desolated the land aggravated by the exterior troubles, excepting in certain limited regions. Robespierre might have restored order had he been given a free hand, but that is an impossible hy-

[1] Réponse au Discours de Réception à l'Académie Française de M. Jules Claretie, 21 Février, 1889. The submission of the addresses made on these occasions to a committee of Academicians chosen by lot is not always a mere formality, it being competent for the committee to insist on the alteration or omission of passages which might offend the political susceptibilities of members of the Company. Thus M. Émile Ollivier, who was elected in 1870, never pronounced his discourse on Lamartine, — whom he succeeded, — as he refused to alter in it certain allusions to the Second Empire, which were not considered opportune, the war having intervened between his election and reception, the formal ceremony of the latter being indefinitely postponed. The same fate befell his projected speech when he was designated to receive M. Henri Martin the historian in 1878. M. Challemel-Lacour, who succeeded to Renan's chair, evidently did not forget his predecessor's attack on the Revolution, and he bitterly criticised him in his Discours de Réception in January, 1894.

pothesis; with no other weapon than his civilian blade of the guillotine he could not have set up any authoritative form of government capable of working usefully, or of surviving the horror inspired by its origin. Events would probably have followed the course that they actually took up to a certain point, for the Directory, which came out of the reaction after the Reign of Terror, was not created by the foreign situation, and to the interior Revolution must be wholly ascribed the chaotic administration, the mismanagement of the finances, the dissoluteness and corruption which permeated society. But the enmity of Europe was the salvation of France in the dark hours of the closing century; and the army with its valiant achievements alone maintained a standard of conduct and duty in the disorganised nation, which instead of sinking inextricably into the demoralisation of the Directory, was raised to life again by the vicissitudes of war.

VII

The discipline of warfare with all its ills, and the exhilaration of conquest, would not have sufficed to renew the life of France; but the battle-field produced a hero and a captain who was also a master of the science of government, of genius never surpassed. The French threw themselves into the arms of Bonaparte, not because they discerned in him the reorganiser of France, but simply as the glorious young conqueror whose martial prestige was the only force sufficient to save the country from the anarchy of the Directory and from civil war. Thus, on landing at Fréjus from the East in the

last autumn of the century, his progress to the capital was a triumph, the victor of Arcola and Rivoli, the pacificator of Campo Formio who had given Belgium and the Rhine to France, being hailed as liberator.

Arrived in Paris he shuts himself up beneath his domestic roof, having to cultivate acquaintance with his wife, of whom he has not seen much since Barras handed her over to him in 1795, with the command of the Army of Italy as a wedding-present. Josephine is still amiably grateful to the protector who saved her from the guillotine, but the career of the Director, in gallantry as in government, is nearly done, and henceforth Madame Bonaparte will be a relatively respectable wife: like another handsome adventuress who, under dissimilar circumstances, attained a crown, she had to accomplish the days of her purification. The General keeps quiet and calculates: when he puts on a uniform it is not that which the soldiers of France have followed from the Adige to the Nile, but the coat with the green palm-leaves of the Institute, for his colleagues in which learned company he has opened up the mysteries of Egypt. But though he does not obtrude his military prestige, it is recognised as likely to be a useful instrument in the hands of some talented Revolutionary, who, as civil dictator, would restore order. Talleyrand was intriguing; so was his rival Fouché; so was Siéyès, a regicide like the latter, an apostate priest like the former, whose career was not destined to be as lucrative as that of the ex-bishop of Autun. Meanwhile he was a Director at the head of affairs, and is reported to have said that "To save France a sword and a head were necessary." Siéyès was willing that the sword should be that of

Bonaparte, but the events which succeeded the Coup d'État of Brumaire were a revelation to the contemporaries of the young general, the nature of whose work is not universally appreciated even by posterity.

Some years ago I was travelling towards the land where the last hope of the Bonapartes fell in savage warfare while wearing the uniform of the army which crushed the founder of his dynasty. At the early close of a tropical day the dark rock of St. Helena rose before us in the sea. At sundown the ship lay at anchor in the roadstead, and night fell on the island with sudden swiftness. In the muffled moonlight of a cloudy evening I rode across the hills which lie between Jamestown and Longwood, where in the mean house upon the heights overlooking the wastes of ocean, across which he used to gaze, I saw by dim candle-light the bare chamber in which Napoleon died. A few hours later, when the ship was leaving behind the grim cliffs in their solitude, my impressions of the lonely ride, which was weird enough to move the least imaginative, were disturbed by the question of an unsentimental traveller, a Scottish legislator, who in the voice of common sense asked who was this Bonaparte, and what title had he to the style of Napoleon the Great? had any of his works survived him save a record of suffering, and had he left anything behind him but a name as barren as the rock vanishing in our wake?

M. Taine, the sternest modern critic of the Emperor, had already answered that inquiry. (The work of Napoleon which has survived him is modern France.[1]) The sword which the Abbé Siéyès deemed might clear the

[1] *Le Régime Moderne*, liv. i. c. i.

way for a civil dictator had performed only a preliminary parade in Italy and in the Orient of the feats it was about to accomplish on more famous fields, from Marengo to Wagram. But the soldier whose wielding of it had only just begun to astonish Europe, in the interval between two expeditions, which any other commander would have found too brief for repose or for technical study, displayed the most colossal gifts of government and organisation ever possessed by a human being. A young general of thirty, of alien race, who had learned as a foreign tongue the language of the people he was to rule, who man and boy had lived only for fourteen years in France,[1] suddenly appeared and being called in to intimidate misrule, instead of returning to his troops when he had restored order, revealed himself by his genius as the master and the chief of the nation. The soldier of fortune, a stranger unversed in civil life, succeeded where philosophers, lawyers, and politicians had failed, and saved the great movement, which had swept away the old Monarchy and the Ancient Régime, from dissolving the French nation in anarchy.

While residing in the Brie there were two spots I sometimes passed, in that beautiful region on the south of Paris, which seemed to mark the beginning and the end of the astounding epoch wherein modern France was made, though their historical interest is forgotten. They

[1] Between Bonaparte's first arrival in France in December, 1778, at the age of nine years and four months (when he went to Autun to learn French before entering at Brienne), and November, 1799, when he made the Coup d'État of Brumaire at the age of thirty years and three months, he seems to have spent fourteen years and two months in France. Between his twentieth and his thirtieth year he made only one long sojourn in France, the two and a half years before he was appointed to the Army of Italy.

are only roadside points on the royal highways issuing from the capital, their pavements now deserted by traffic, the one leading to Bâle, the other to Antibes and Italy. On the former stands the village of Boissy St. Léger, where Mme. de Staël, arriving from Switzerland on November 9, 1799, made her last change of horses before entering Paris, just as Barras passed on his way to Gros Bois hard by, the château then occupied by him, but soon to be given to another son of the Revolution, Berthier, afterwards Prince de Wagram, whose descendant still lives there. It was the "18 Brumaire," and the gendarmes escorting the fallen Director told the postilions of Mme. de Staël of what had occurred at the Tuileries; and she recounts how for the first time since the Revolution she heard a popular name on the lips of men and women. Until then everything had been done by the Constituent Assembly, by the Convention, or by the People; but to-day the human race was no longer anonymous in France, where in every mouth was the name of Bonaparte.

A few miles distant, where the highroad to the south approaches the Seine, fourteen years later a scene took place less dramatic than the better known farewell of Fontainebleau soon to come, but for that reason more pathetic. It was midnight, on March 30, 1814. The campaign of France was over: Napoleon in the supreme struggle had risen to the height of his genius, and in a month had won twelve battles to defend the approaches of his capital against the armies of three nations. But Paris was invested, and in the hope of striking a last blow, he speeds thither as fast as a post-chaise will carry him, leaving his troops at Troyes. While changing

horses at the Cour de France, a wayside inn near Juvisy, he hails a squadron of cavalry riding away from Paris. The officer, recognising in the dark the well-known voice, halts and gives him the news of the day: the Empress and Joseph Bonaparte in flight, the capitulation signed, and the Allies to enter Paris in the morning. All through the night he paced the bleak road, refusing to believe that it was too late to press on to his capital, where his presence alone would undo Marmont's defeat and Talleyrand's treachery. The chilly dawn broke before he could be forced into the cabriolet which bore him to Fontainebleau, while the Tsar Alexander was consenting to be Talleyrand's guest in the rue St. Florentin, where he decided that the French should enjoy a copy of the British Constitution, and ordered his Cossacks to aid the Parisians in displacing for the first time the statue in the Place Vendôme. Two obelisks mark the spot where the Emperor heard that the Empire was ended, but the weather-worn inscriptions, though older than this roadside tragedy, are significant. One sets forth how "Ludovicus XV., rex Christianissimus, viam hanc antea difficilem, arduam et pene inviam fieri curavit," and the other in French says that the monuments were restored "in the reign of Napoleon the Great."

"Napoleon the Great" was again spoken of as "Bonaparte" in the fickle capital the night that he trod his Calvary on the steep which he climbed by the road made by the king whose subject he was born only forty-four years before. His career was done, save for the epilogue of the Hundred Days, at an age when men, excepting the heroes of the French Revolution, are on the threshold of

public life. It is a coincidence which has not been noticed, that at the moment when the great Emperor became Bonaparte again, he was day for day the same age as was his nephew, Louis Napoleon, when he dropped the family name to become an Emperor.[1] He was younger when he had completed the work which gives him his title of greatness. Twenty years after the Revolution, ten years after his return from Egypt, it was all finished: and if in 1809 he had fallen at Wagram when he was thirty-nine, his renown would have been almost unimpaired, though even then, having accomplished the reorganisation of France and become the master of Continental Europe, his ambition had impelled him to his first fatal step, the invasion of Spain.

But, before the ambitious conqueror had got the better of the ruler and the organiser, he had accomplished work which at the end of the century, after revolutions and invasions, after changes of dynasty and misgovernment of every form, lasts as the solid foundation and framework of French society. The whole centralised administration of France, which in its stability has survived every political crisis, was the creation of Napoleon and the keystone of his fabric. It was he who organised the existing administrative divisions of the departments, with the officials supervising them and the local assemblies attached to them. The relations of Church and State are still regulated by his Concordat. The Uni-

[1] Napoleon, born August 15, 1769, on March 30, 1814 (the last day of the Empire, a provisional Government being set up the next day), was aged 44 years and 227 days. Louis Napoleon, born April 20, 1808, on December 1, 1852 (the last day on which he used the name of Bonaparte, being proclaimed Emperor on December 2), was also aged 44 years and 227 days.

versity, which remains the basis of public education, was his foundation. The Civil Code, the Penal Code, the Conseil d'État, the Judicial System, the Fiscal System, in fine every institution which a law-abiding Frenchman respects, from the Legion of Honour to the Bank of France and the Comédie Française, was either formed or reorganised by Napeolon. No doubt the revolutionary assemblies sometimes paused in their work of demolition to essay a constructive project. The Constituent Assembly created the departments, the Directory remodelled the Institute; and Condorcet might have carried out his schemes of education had not his colleagues of the Convention driven him into suicide to escape the guillotine. But when Bonaparte arrived in France in 1799 from the camp and the battle-field, he found that the result of the Revolution, for ten years in the hands of jurists, rhetoricians, and theorists, was chaos. It was illumined with a few streaks of light which displayed the fragmentary beginnings of well-conceived designs; but it was none the less a chaos, needing the inspiration of a creator to evolve order from it, and the authority of a master of men to utilise the misapplied intellects of that erratic epoch.

The institutions of the Napoleonic establishment survive, not as historical monuments, but as the working machinery which regulates the existence of a great people at the end of the nineteenth century, and their minute examination shows that they operate satisfactorily. M. Taine and other critics of the Napoleonic reorganisation say it was imperfect, and ascribe to it many of the ills from which France has suffered. It was not perfect: no human work is; but admirably suited to the French tem-

perament is the organisation which, created in less than a decade amid the alarms of war, has not only performed its functions for three generations, but stands erect as the framework to keep French society together amid the fever of insurrection or the more lingering disorder of parliamentary anarchy, just as though it owed its stability to the growth of ages.

It is hard to see what other form the reorganisation of France could have taken. Had constitutional government been essayed to cope with the anarchy, the social edifice demolished at the Revolution could never have been reconstituted. Napoleon seemed to be called into being, a miraculous or at all events an abnormal figure, to save the existence of France; and that his work has lasted without any serious effort to upset it shows how good it was. The conjunction with it of a parliamentary monarchy was anomalous, but Napoleon himself made that unnatural combination inevitable. At first his peaceful work of construction advanced with the development of his military genius. Marengo was followed by the organisation of the Church and of education; and from the council-chamber where he set his own impress on the Code to bear his name, he sped across Europe to win the fields of Austerlitz and Jena. But when the marvellous combination had brought France in a few years from the brink of disruption to an unequalled height of splendour and prosperity, then his character degenerates. The lawgiver, the organiser, the statesman, disappear; he is only the conqueror, conscious of his skill in the terrible game of war which distorts his imagination and drags him in a furious wanton course to Madrid, to Moscow, and to Leipsic, till we find him, by a strange

irony, after his most consummate exhibition of strategy, wandering on a March night on the road-side near Paris, deserted by his wife, his kindred, his marshals, his counsellors, who owed to him their place and name in the world.

Mme. de Staël, writing soon after his final downfall, said: "Many people hold that if Bonaparte had undertaken the invasion neither of Spain nor of Russia he would still be Emperor; but he had need of war both to establish and to preserve absolutism. A great nation would not have endured the monotonous and degrading weight of despotism, if military glory had not continually roused and animated public sentiment."[1] The accomplished daughter of Necker had two strong passions — a hatred of Napoleon who had persecuted her, and an affection for the liberties of the British Constitution. But the least prejudiced spectator, writing when France was worn out, weary of useless slaughter, subjugated to the foreigner, and mutilated, had the right to think that the monster of ambition who caused these calamities could never have taken his place as the peaceful ruler of the nation which he had led first to triumph and then to disaster. If the discussion of hypothetical contingencies, so tempting in tracing the political history of modern France, were not futile, much might be said on the other side. It seems as though Napoleon, after he had done his great work of organisation, and had given to the army eleven years of legitimate glory from Castiglione to Friedland, had an unexampled opportunity of ruling peacefully a contented people. Save for the Royalist plots there was then no symptom of discontent

[1] *Considérations sur la Révolution Française*, partie iv. c. 19.

with the authoritative régime which Mme. de Staël called despotism, but under which there was more liberty than in the despotism of the Convention or in the despotism of the subsequent anarchy. Had her life not ended two years after Waterloo, she would have soon seen that the limited monarchy of her desire was capable of oppression,[1] without even the excuse of public disorder as at the time of the White Terror. She might have also realised the vanity of her theory, that the Restoration took up the tale of the Revolution where it was interrupted by violence in 1791, and that the intervening events formed a deplorable interlude outside the progressive history of France.

Looking back from the end of the century to its first three decades, we perceive a phenomenon which precisely contradicts the idea running through the treatise of Mme. de Staël. The period wherein the rightful kings of France reigned over the realm restored to them seems, in spite of the brilliant literary renaissance which dawned in it, politically obscure after the years which had gone before. Louis XVIII. and Charles X. had grown into manhood in the ancient Court, taking part in its pleasures, its intrigues, and its politics. Yet these princes, who had been foremost figures in a society never equalled for stateliness and grace, when they recovered their inheritance made but a mean appearance on the throne

[1] Mme. de Staël, after the 1st Restoration, began to protest against the increasing oppression by the clergy and the émigrés, and would have agitated opinion against the restored monarchy but for the return of Napoleon. — *Correspondance de Talleyrand et de Louis XVIII.* (1814). In 1822 her daughter, the Duchesse de Broglie, thanked God that she had not survived to see all her hopes set at nought. — *Souvenirs du Baron de Barante*, vol. iii.

and in the palaces of their fathers; though the elder of them was a statesman of high ability, and was a good king, who reigned with sagacity during the first years of repose necessary for the renewal of the forces of France. Had they come back recalled to France to restore order after anarchy, they might each have presented a more imposing figure to history. But it was not to revolutionary disorder that these monarchs succeeded; it was the great son and organiser of the Revolution whom they came after, dwarfed by him who had filled Europe with his presence, and whose constructive work has remained when the traces of his mad havoc have disappeared.

After the prudent reign of Louis XVIII. had ended in 1824, Charles X. decided to be crowned in the cathedral of Reims with all the pomp with which the Church had honoured the royal guardians of her eldest daughter, on the spot associated for ages with the assumption of the purple of France. To this altar Joan of Arc had brought Charles VII. to be anointed with the holy chrism. Here the Grand Monarque, a child of sixteen, had received the crown in the presence of his mother, Anne of Austria, and of the Italian cardinal who had usurped his father's place; and here Charles X. himself, when Comte d'Artois, had assisted fifty years before at the coronation of his fated brother Louis XVI. and of Marie Antoinette. Louis XVIII. had dispensed with the sacred ceremony; when he succeeded *de jure* the cathedral of Reims was not accessible to the family of Bourbon, and in France the heads of kings were then associated with instruments other than crowns. But the aged monarch who came next decreed that the holy phial brought down from

heaven for the baptism of Clovis should be broached once more for him; and though its virtues could not preserve his kingship even for the few years left of his span of life, perhaps the event was worthier of resounding celebration than it seemed to spectators, for now we know that it was to be the only occasion for a century and a quarter on which a ruler of France succeeded his predecessor by hereditary right.

Between the two ceremonies in which Charles of Bourbon had played a part there had been another coronation in France. Not in the royal shrine of Champagne, but at Notre Dame de Paris, a dozen years after the anointed head of Louis XVI. had fallen within sight of its towers, while the Comte d'Artois was reposing in safety at Holyrood, took place the most imposing consecration of a monarch that Christendom had ever seen, for the Vicar of Jesus Christ came from Rome to assist at it. It was not in the English but in the French sense of the word that Pius VII. assisted at the coronation of Napoleon, for the captive Pope sat a spectator while the amazing conqueror placed with his own hands the crown on his head. The last witnesses both of that scene and of the coronation of Charles X. twenty years later have gone, but we have some idea why the audacious splendour of the upstart pageant paled and made unreal the legitimate revival of the regal sacrament. Two painters who were present, David and his pupil Gérard, have left us their respective impressions on the walls of two noble galleries once the antechambers of kings of France. Regard the sumptuously attired personages of the Imperial retinue reproduced in the rich colouring of the revolutionary painter. Kneeling before her husband,

and unheeding the gesture of benediction of the Pontiff, is Josephine, ex-mistress of Barras, to-day Empress of the French, and, unlike her heir-desiring master, destined to have a descendant to rule over France. Soon she will pay the penalty for the ill-timed term of her fruitfulness, and when the Creole's place is taken by a daughter of the Emperors of the West, the Church, whose chief on earth is here to-day, will show its flexibility by blessing the new union while she lingers neglected at Malmaison. The minister of the Church who will unite his nephew, the successor of Louis XVI., to the niece of Marie Antoinette is here too. Cæsar's uncle eight years ago had lost his holy vocation, and instead of a village priest in Corsica was a commissary in the Army of Italy; but the Consulate revived the ancient faith in many breasts and Cardinal Fesch had been Primate of the Gauls already three years when, a Prince of the Church, he escorted the Pope to France. Here is another who had worn the violet of prelates in the previous reign when it was rarely accessible to sons of the people like Joseph Fesch, but, apostate and unmitred, Talleyrand does not shun pious ceremonies, nor even the presence of the keeper of the Fisher's Seal.

Now if we pause to examine David's picture at the Louvre, it is not because it represents with skill an isolated scene of historic interest, but because it reveals the making of modern France and even of modern Europe. It is the apotheosis of the French Revolution; it is the consecration of its organisation by armed force. Napoleon incarnates first the triumph of the populace over the Ancient Régime and then the organisation of the people into omnipotent military despotism. The Papacy has, in

its eternal wisdom, frequently shown indulgent complacency for the disorders and delicts of great rulers who have represented mighty dynasties and long traditions; but there is not one among this brilliant throng blessed by the Pope who represents any tradition. Without the revolutionary victories of Castiglione, of Rivoli and Marengo, they would be a band of nameless adventurers and adventuresses headed by an unfrocked priest: but they are the satellites of the risen star of military genius, and the successor of St. Peter quits the apostolic threshold to mingle with them. Presently his example will be followed by the occupants of the proudest temporal thrones of the Continent when Austerlitz and Jena have made them the vassals of the soldier crowning himself with the crown of Charlemagne.

Hence it is that whatever vulgarity there may be hidden beneath the scarlet and the purple and the ermine crowded on the floor of Notre Dame, the force and audacity of the scene made any other manner of coronation in France henceforth ridiculous. Before glancing at the other picture we may reflect that some of the materials which gave David his subject are still ready to hand in France. The world will probably never see another Napoleon. But a leader with the genius of one of his marshals may one day in a moment of victory realise that the conquering armies of Bonaparte which made him Emperor were a handful of ill-equipped levies compared with the disciplined legions which the French democracy now maintains on a war footing, at the disposal of a soldier of fortune who touches the popular fancy.

The other picture at Versailles represents a mas-

querade which imposes on no one. The costumes and the architecture are the same which are familiar in paintings and prints of bygone coronations at Reims, but we recognise some of these faces as having taken part in certain events and movements which have altered the face of Europe since the hero of to-day assisted at his brother's crowning. The old King is embracing the Dauphin amid the acclamations of his companions of the emigration, and of certain others. Had there been no Salic law to prevent the consort of the heir to the throne from becoming Queen of France and Navarre when she emerged from the Temple, whence her father and mother had gone to the guillotine, and where her brother had succumbed, history might have taken a different turn; for Napoleon himself recognised in the Duchesse d'Angoulême the only man of her family. But the applauding émigrés are not the only audience in the cathedral. The two Cardinal-Dukes who officiate at the anointing are aided in the after ceremony by two Marshal-Dukes whose names and titles were unknown to the Old Régime, for they bear them by the favour of the self-crowned Emperor who died at St. Helena four years ago. So Mortier, Duc de Trévise, and Soult, Duc de Dalmatie, have offered the hand-of-justice and the sceptre to the King; and the grim old marshals who would have been sergeant-pensioners of a royal regiment but for the Revolution, for which they fought, perhaps think it better to spend a morning tripping in silk and satin with lowly obeisance on the carpet of *fleurs de lys* than to be taken out behind the Luxembourg and shot like their comrade Ney. The shoes of lilied velvet have been humbly put on the royal feet by the ubiquitous one ever ready to bend the knee to any

master. Louis XVI., Constituent Assembly, Convention, Directory, First Consul, Emperor, are all the same to M. de Talleyrand, who is equally ready to betray them in turn. The Prince de Bénévent, alone of his prodigious generation, personifies the Revolution in all its phases, so when it takes that of a royal masque he plays his part in it with consummate art. His performances are not yet done; thirteen years are yet to run before the Abbé Dupanloup will be called to the rue St. Florentin to hear a confession perhaps more interesting than the published memoirs of Talleyrand. He has one more master to serve who is here to-day. We all know that the head of the Orleans family is, after the Children of France, always the first Prince of the blood, since the renunciation of the Spanish Bourbons; so here is Louis Philippe erect at the right of the throne just as he used to mount guard at the door of the Jacobin Club in his youth, when his cousin D'Artois, king to-day, had fled to Coblentz, and when his father Philippe Égalité was meditating how he might supplant Louis XVI. without sending him to the scaffold.

The coronation of Napoleon, with all its magnificent effrontery, was the apotheosis of the revolutionary settlement. The crown which the soldier of fortune assumed that day departed from his head, but the spectacle symbolised the result of the Revolution, the civil reconstruction of France by a military adventurer. The phase of the Revolution proclaimed that day, the Empire, did not last, but its work survived it, making vain all attempts to ignore the change of things. Hence the coronation of Charles X. was a mere travesty, though the chief mime was the lawful heir of St. Louis, and all it led to was

the Revolution of July for the benefit of the family of the regicide Orleans, while outside the royal fête the people responded with a demonstration, when in ominous thousands they bore to the grave General Foy, a hero of the Grande Armée.

Not that the tradition of the Empire was generally popular under the Restoration. On the contrary, the removal of the scourge of war from a nation exhausted by twenty years' drain of life-blood was a relief so exhilarating that the blitheness of the French people is one of the most notable features of that curious epoch. Defeat, loss of territory, and foreign invasion had none of the grievous effects which our generation has seen produced on the French nature by similar misfortunes comparatively slight. Save to his old soldiers, the memory of Napoleon was a nightmare to the French in the early days of the Restoration, when Victor Cousin dared to say of Waterloo that it was the triumph of liberty over despotism. It is interesting to follow the fluctuations of French sentiment towards Napoleon. The rock of St. Helena was the first cause of the metamorphosis. Had another Elba been found for him in European waters, had he ended his days in a suburb of London or of Vienna, spying the amours of Marie Louise, composing manifestoes to the people of France, or plotting to reappear in their midst, his legend would have never revived, though his constructive work would have remained. But the *Memorial of St. Helena*, coming forth from the tomb on the desert island, was the gospel of a miraculous apostolate: so he who for the last portion of his career had imperturbably sent men to death by myriads in the pursuit of his insensate ambition, was transfigured into "the

Christ of the French Revolution, wickedly nailed to the rock by the malice of kings." Without St. Helena, Béranger's ballads might have pleased the veterans of the Grande Armée and charmed future generations by their literary beauty, but there would have been little need for the government of the Restoration to imprison the poet, who afterwards gave his aid to the Revolution of July which brought back the tricolour.

Louis Philippe in turn encouraged the revival of the legend by sending his son to bring home the Emperor's ashes; so that, when the Middle-class Monarchy was upset, the name of the hero and martyr of the Revolution was so cherished in the newly enfranchised democracy that its inheritance bore his nephew to popular dictatorship. The Second Empire did not increase the prestige of the Napoleonic tradition, which seemed to have incurred eternal execration when the dynasty fell amid the same woodlands of the Ardennes where Dumouriez had led his raw levies to the first victories of the Revolution, and had associated the name of Sedan with repulse of invasion before the fame of Bonaparte was ever heard of in France. The years after the war mark the lowest depths of misesteem attached to the Napoleonic legend since Las Cases published the *Memorial*. Lanfrey had already essayed to damage it when the events of 1870 came as a commentary to his work; but as the memory of the Second Empire receded a reaction commenced, and when Taine published his unflattering portrait of Napoleon, the controversy roused by it showed that there was a renaissance of feeling in favour of the soldier of the Revolution. The rifeness of parliamentary anarchy and scandal, not unlike that

which Bonaparte suppressed, helped to turn the revived sentiment into a cult and a passion, which, however, had only a literary development.

But it is to be noted that whatever sentiment prevails for the moment in France with regard to the character and career of Napoleon his work endures unaffected. Under the Restoration of the legitimate kings, under the Revolutionary Monarchy of the Orleans branch, under the Plebiscitary Empire, and under the Parliamentary Republic, the Napoleonic construction forms the unchanging basis of the administration and life of the country, whatever forms of legislative and executive powers the constitution of the moment has set up. Consequently, whether we regard Napoleon as M. Taine's mediæval Italian condottiere, who strongly resembles the Corsican ogre of our forefathers, or as the idyllic Little Corporal with his gray military coat; whether we are dazzled with the audacity of the coronation scene, or shocked at the murder of the Duc d'Enghien, we have to recognise that his constructive work remains the framework of modern France and that its stability resists time and vicissitude. Decentralisation has been the subject of a thousand pamphlets; the revision of the Concordat is a venerable article of reform; the system of education has been improved and the tribunals have been increased; but the Napoleonic settlement of the Revolution lasts. Moreover, nothing survives of the Revolution but what was established by Napoleon. So, now that a century has passed since the great change of things, we see clearly that its chief tangible result was the authoritative centralised government established by him whom Mme. de Staël called a Robespierre on

horseback, thus recognising the revolutionary character of his work. But the absolutism of Napoleon was necessary and salutary for the reconstruction of France; and that he organised the chaos of the Revolution into a fabric, of which the use by three generations has displayed the suitability, is a proof of his providential genius.

CHAPTER II

LIBERTY

I

BEFORE we examine the working of the institutions under which France is governed at the end of the nineteenth century, and their connection with the great Revolution, we may first inquire what has been the fate of certain principles laid down at that epoch. It is especially interesting to observe the attitude of the French to those displayed in the device of the First Republic, "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," which in 1848 was reiterated in the Constitution[1] promulgated the month before Louis Bonaparte was elected President of the Second Republic. On the third occasion when France established that form of government, it voted a Constitution containing no declaration of principle and no promise of liberty. The Republic, however, set up again the motto which the Prince-President had removed from public buildings when he rooted up the Trees of Liberty planted by the enthusiasts of 1848. Not that it is certain that the inscription broadcast of the name of Liberty, together with those of its accompanying virtues, is the best means of imposing its principles on citizens.

[1] Constitution du 4 Novembre, 1848.

The sight of it, for instance, on the portals of the State prisons is more suggestive of those metaphysical discussions in which the French have essayed to define the term, than of Liberty in the eyes of commonplace man.

A visit to Oxford led M. Taine to the conclusion that metaphysics did not flourish in England,[1] but the absence of the science, in which he was an adept, did not attenuate his praise of our literature; for in it he recognised that the unphilosophic terminology wherein we clothe our ideas has been an advantage in the history of the nation. Thus we are more practical in our treatment of Liberty, which, to a Frenchman, is a dogma to define or to expound rather than a factor in the every-day life of a community. This conception partly accounts for the durability of the fiction that the Revolution was the era of Liberty, the exact contrary being the fact. The emancipation of modern thought was effected by the philosophers who were the products of the Ancient Monarchy, which let them air their doctrines with little hindrance. Voltaire, Rousseau, and Diderot all contributed to the Revolution, but had they lived until the Terror, they would in spite of their advanced years have probably shared the fate of Lavoisier and of Malesherbes,[2] unless they had cheated the guillotine, as did Condorcet in his cell. Each of those philosophers was arrested under a warrant which bore first on its face

[1] *Littérature Anglaise,* livre v. The metaphysical currents, which led to the Revolution, are critically analysed by Taine with great skill and lucidity in the *Ancien Régime,* livre iii.

[2] Voltaire and Rousseau died in 1778: Diderot in 1784: Condorcet committed suicide in March, 1794: Malesherbes was guillotined in April, and Lavoisier in May, 1794.

the word Liberty. Malesherbes, best known as the intrepid advocate of Louis XVI., was the friend of Rousseau, and under his administration, as a royal official, had appeared the *Encyclopædia*. Jean-Jacques had been exhumed to pompously follow Voltaire to the Panthéon a few months before his venerable friend perished, with his daughter and his granddaughter, on the same scaffold where some days later the illustrious Lavoisier died, who, begging that his execution might be postponed till he had completed his last great experiment, was told by the public prosecutor that "the Republic had no need of savants and chemists."

It was thus that the apostles of liberty, who had survived the Ancient Monarchy of their origin, were treated in that stage of the Revolution which had Liberty for its official device. If Rousseau and Diderot could have lived through it to its next period, the Napoleonic régime, their heads would have been in less danger than at the time when the cult of Liberty was official; but they would have experienced a severer supervision of their philosophy under the revolutionary dictatorship than under the old Monarchy, which they helped to shatter. Under Napoleon they would have had to choose between putting forth their thoughts in exile and keeping silence in the land which had won its liberty: or they might, under paternal restraint, have aided the organiser of the Revolution in his reconstruction of France, as did Tronchet,[1] the friend of Mirabeau, in the preparation of the Code. It was only when the allied anti-Revolutionary sovereigns forced back its an-

[1] Tronchet, like Malesherbes, is best known as one of the valiant advocates of Louis XVI.

cient line of kings on France that it began to enjoy a taste of the liberty which the philosophers had preached, and which the Revolution had checked while making great parade of the principle. The First Year of Liberty in the Revolutionary Calendar began on September 21, 1792,[1] and the previous night, after Valmy, by the bivouac fire, Goethe had said, "On this spot and on this day has commenced a new era for the history of the world." The poet's observation was accurate, but the new era, which dated from the defeat of the royal troops of Prussia by the conscripts of the Revolution, was not the epoch of liberty of which he presaged the dawn. Sixteen years later at Erfurt, he had occasion to recognise the nature of the era inaugurated by the army of the Revolution, when he talked with Napoleon, in the plenitude of his glory and absolutism, who had summoned thither the autocrat of Russia to discuss with him the maintenance of the Continental blockade.[2] The intellectual revolution of the eighteenth century, led by Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, and the Encyclopædists, was checked by the political revolution which it helped to cause. In 1789 the friends of liberty in all countries hoped that the violent movement initiated in France to sweep away the oppression of the Old Régime would lead to the triumph of their principles: but as M. Taine demonstrates, from the first moment of the uprising there was never any hope for a philosophic resettlement of society. The spontaneous anarchy, which was immediate, swiftly became the prey of the Jacobin

[1] It was a year later, 1 Vendémiaire, An II., that the calendar began to be used.

[2] October, 1808.

conquest, the despotism of disorder, which needed the high-handed discipline of military dictatorship to master it.

The association therefore of the idea of Liberty with the Revolution, or at all events with that phase of it which established the Republican form of government, is conventional; and if this were generally admitted, there would be no reason to advert to the severe restrictions on liberty under the régime claiming to be the particular offspring of the Revolution, or to the spirit hostile to liberty which is rife in France a century after that era of emancipation. If the inscription on coins and on public buildings, "Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité," were merely an official badge, we should take no more serious notice of it than of the heraldic motto of a distinguished family referring to some more or less authentic adventure in its history, out of keeping with the character of its present members. The chief objection to it would be its length, as painted in black characters it often defaces a handsome monument, and we should wish that the Third Republic had chosen a less sprawling device, like the S.P.Q.R. of the municipality of modern Rome, which for other reasons is equally inapt. But voices of authority in the Republic tell us that the official placarding of Liberty and the other words is symbolical of the efflorescence of the doctrine implied in them under the present régime, which inherited it from the Revolution. If we take up the challenge we shall perhaps find that the apparent inconsistency in theory and in practice is partly due to the fact that in France liberty is a mere subject of the class-room and the library.

The study of philosophy, of which M. Taine noted the absence at our chief seat of metaphysical learning, is not neglected in France. Before the age at which youths enter the English Universities the toiling school-boys of France are dipping into studies similar to those which only a few of the most diligent pupils of Oxford cultivate several years later. As an intellectual training the education in the public schools of France is superior to that which burdens the resources of English parents of moderate means, while tending to turn our nation into a muscular plutocracy. The good and evil of the French system I hope to examine before long. Here we have only to glance at its working with regard to the principle and practice of liberty. The young Frenchmen who correspond to our sixth-form boys have studied the theories both in antiquity and in French philosophy; but when they get up from their books their surroundings make them feel that what they have learned about liberty has no more practical bearing on modern life than the geography of the Odyssey, or the agriculture of the Georgics. A Frenchman often likens a Lycée in its interior economy to a barrack, or to a prison, and, unless he were a day scholar, looks back to his school-days as a period of servitude in which, sleeping and waking, he was subject to perpetual espionage. There is no sadder spectacle on the gay scene of Paris than that of the mournful processions of bearded youths in collegiate uniforms promenading the Champs Élysées under the eyes of their ushers.

During the rest of his career a French citizen, if of law-abiding temperament, may experience no encroachments on his liberty; for the notion that a resident in France is

the prey of a constant official vexation is exaggerated, and there is no country where under normal circumstances life can be enjoyed more tranquilly. At the same time he is exposed to accidents which remind him that the chief tangible result of the French Revolution was the voluntary submission of the nation to the tyranny of absolutism, as the following case will show. A commercial clerk, after his day's work, is showing to his children, in M. Armand Dayot's popular pictorial history of the Revolution, the reprints illustrating the horrors of the Bastille. We know now that the demolition of that fortress revealed that the rare prisoners interned in it, in 1789, were not friends of liberty and had not much to complain of;[1] but the massacre by the mob of Governor de Launay had to be justified, and the prints of the period represent the insurgents rescuing the captives just as the rats were about to devour them on the 14th of July. So the good father explains to his sons the nature of a *lettre de cachet*, and the iniquity of a system destroyed by the glorious Revolution, which permitted a citizen to be thrown into prison without trial — when a knock is heard at the door. A police officer enters with a warrant to arrest the man on the charge of defrauding his employers: he protests his innocence and is carried off.

So far the proceedings might have occurred in any free country, even in the case of a man unjustly taken into custody; but the next steps, which a whole generation

[1] M. Gaston Deschamps, who has studied the subject, finds that only six or seven men were in custody on July 14, 1789, none of whom were political prisoners, four being forgers, and all were well lodged and fed. The infamous Marquis de Sade was an inmate of the Bastille shortly before that date.

under the Third Republic has submitted to, are not suggestive of life under a democratic parliamentary régime, of which the official fête is the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille. The accused person is locked up in solitary confinement, cut off from communication with his family, and in private audience interrogated day after day by a magistrate, who strives to extort an avowal. Meanwhile all the forces of the police are at work to get up evidence against the untried prisoner, of the nature of which he is kept ignorant, while the *juge d'instruction*, in his interrogatories, uses the craft of a skilled expert to drag damaging admissions from the mouth of the man, bewildered with the isolation of captivity, sometimes browbeating him with threats, sometimes inventing the fiction that an accomplice has proved his guilt. Until the twenty-eighth year of the Republic, only when at last committed for trial was the accused allowed to consult a lawyer for his defence. The system of "secret instruction" flourished intact during a generation of democratic rule, sometimes indeed criticised in the press when it gave rise to some glaring scandal, such as the suicide of an unfortunate, conscious of his innocence yet crushed with the anxiety of his situation; or when an eloquent advocate, by picturing to the jury the hardship of the ordeal, restored his client to his family broken in health and fortune. But the majority of the victims belong to the criminal class; so in a nation where the principle of the Habeas Corpus Act is reverenced only by a few theorists it is not easy to effect a fundamental change for the sake of sparing from wrong an occasional honest citizen of the Republic, who falls under the suspicion of the agents of justice. Thus the prolonged tolerance of such a system

in a nation where universal suffrage is supreme, and where the freedom of the press in denouncing institutions is of unbridled licence, has shown that its idea of liberty has a peculiar and special signification.[1]

A less tragic experience of the national conception of liberty may befall a French citizen suspected of mere irregularity. To realise the plenitude of his privilege in living under a Republic, he leaves his home one day to hear M. Aulard, the lecturer at the Sorbonne, demonstrate that human happiness reached its greatest height under the régime proclaimed in 1792. As he returns past the statue of Danton he wonders how the countrymen of that lover of liberty could have submitted to the Second Empire, when even the domicile of a citizen was not exempt from violation; and thus reflecting he reaches his door. A scene of disorder awaits him: the drawers of his study, the cupboards of his chamber, are broken open; the house would seem to have been ransacked by burglars in broad daylight. But he hears that the disarray has been caused not by enemies of the law but by its emissaries. He is at a loss to account for the outrage: he is not an anarchist capable of secreting dynamite, nor a financier given to bribing members of Parliament and keeping their receipts, nor in any category of persons normally subject to domiciliary visitations of the police.

[1] Criminal procedure has at last been somewhat modified in the 28th year of the Republic by the efforts of M. Constans, after the exposure of the evils of the "secret instruction" by an eminent public prosecutor, M. Jean Cruppi. But law reformers are sceptical about the practical results of the reform (which permits an accused person to employ an advocate during the private preliminary inquiry), as there is no prospect of the magistracy adopting, or of public opinion enforcing, the doctrine which presumes the possible innocence of an untried prisoner.

But he has been denounced as a smoker of cigars imported without official permission, and though the charge is untrue, the Government monopoly of tobacco is so important that the mere suspicion of an infringement of it calls for measures of a terror-striking nature. Lord Eldon is said to have remarked, in the days when Englishmen were put to death for minor offences against property, that if the capital penalty were relaxed, no man's overcoat would be safe hanging up in his hall: and so if Frenchmen did not know that the mere possession of contraband cigars subjected them to rigours appropriate for coiners or for bomb-makers, they might refuse to smoke the insipid state-manufactures of Pantin and of Châteauroux.

The submission of the French nation, a century after the Revolution, to limitations on private liberty such as these, which modern democracies do not usually consider necessary for orderly government, may be referred to several causes. To begin with, their hardship affects only a small proportion of the community. The average Frenchman who accepts any existing régime, and who has no illusions about the philosophical doctrine of the Revolution, will say that all government rests on the surrender of a certain amount of personal liberty; and though in principle he may object to the way in which untried prisoners are treated, and to the wide powers given to the police of violating private domicile, yet as these abuses in most cases incommode only persons dangerous to society, he does not deem it worth while to agitate for reform. As we have seen, the sole occasion in French history when there was a great popular movement rousing the whole nation was the

Revolution, of which the immediate cause was the bad fiscal system oppressive to every one excepting the privileged. Then again there is no public opinion in France as we understand it in England, or at all events, no means of expressing it. The spirit of the press of the whole country, excepting in matters of local interest, is regulated by the journalists of Paris, who interpret merely the sentiments, sometimes conflicting, sometimes unanimous, of the Boulevards, and the newspaper is not used by the public for airing its grievances by means of letters to the editor. Moreover, the legislature, as we shall see, though called a Parliament, is not utilised as a parliamentary people would make use of it for quietly redressing the grievances of the day; questions and deputations to ministers, petitions to the two Houses, pledges demanded of members, and, in fine, all methods of constitutional agitation are unpractised in France. This is the corollary of the national tendency which survives all régimes. Louis Napoleon may take down the inscription of Liberty and the Third Republic may put it up again, but all the time the French people like to be governed: in the intervals of their revolutions they prefer to be driven not with a loose rein, but feeling the hand of authority directing them. In a democracy which voluntarily confers on the State such arbitrary powers to encroach on its personal liberty, a special signification must be attached to that word.

II

There is another aspect of the subject of Liberty in France which calls for separate consideration. A century

after the Declaration of the Rights of Man proclaimed the free exercise of opinion, religious or otherwise, so much intolerance lingers in the land that it has been said that a Frenchman's conception of Liberty is liberty for ideas in accordance with his own. Intolerance is a vice not peculiar to France. It has disfigured the annals of all civilised peoples, notably in connection with controversies kindled by the exercise of the Christian religion, the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin races having practised it with unedifying rivalry. I wish, therefore, in dealing with this question, to guard against the censorious attitude of a stranger pleading the superiority of his own nation; my design merely is to show that the French Revolution, for all its boasted doctrine of emancipation of the human race, has perhaps been the cause of France enjoying less liberty than other countries where its principle has not been enunciated as an abstract formula at seasons of insurrection.

One way in which the great Revolution conduced to the acuter phases of intolerance surviving longer in France than in England, was in its destruction of sectarian subdivision, whence the polemical forces of the nation ever since have been arrayed against one another in two definite and irreconcilable camps. On the eve of Voltaire's birth, Calvinists were persecuted by Catholics, Jesuits fought with Jansenists, and Gallicans resisted Ultramontanes. At his death the conflict between the pretensions of the Church and the doctrine of free inquiry had grown so keen that little place was left for minor controversies, and the great upheaval had become inevitable. The Revolution came, rooting up society from its foundations, and when the disturbed

elements settled down again, the two conflicting influences came forth in clearly defined mutual oppugnancy. The persecutions of the clergy in the struggle, and the confiscation of their possessions, added a new article to the Catholic faith, that of hostility to the principles of the Revolution, which henceforth were professed by the bulk of the nation, though variously interpreted. The Concordat consolidated the Church without reconciling it to the new order of things; and through all the régimes which have succeeded one another, independently of the strife of party and of dynasty, though sometimes associated with their fortunes, the French nation has contained two great discordant sections, representing the civil and the ecclesiastical power. Their antagonism for one another has not been softened or diverted by the rivalries of manifold sects, for the Protestant minority has existed only in scattered localities.

The political conflict between the two forces in the early years of the Third Republic will be mentioned later. All that need be said of it here is that the clerical party was the first aggressor. Not taking to heart the admonition of the Founder of the Church, "omnes enim qui acceperint gladium, gladio peribunt," it impetuously drew the sword and provoked a merciless reprisal. The spirit of the clergy after the War, outside the field of politics, was displayed by Mgr. Dupanloup, who, though he asserted his own liberty of opinion before the Pope himself, did not extend the same freedom to his countrymen more undisciplined than he. So when, in spite of his opposition, Littré was elected to the Academy in 1871, the Bishop of Orleans gathered his purple robes around him lest the great philologer, who was also

a positivist, should touch their hem, and withdrew from the learned company in which four cardinals and four other prelates of the Church in its days of power had sat side by side with Voltaire.[1]

In contrast with the attitude of this Gallican dignitary to a heterodox Frenchman of eminence may be noted the cordial feeling which Cardinal Manning cherished for Mr. Matthew Arnold; and it is probable that in a secular society, such as is the French Academy, he would have preferred as a colleague the author of *Literature and Dogma* to his episcopal opponent of the Vatican Council. Manning, the unbending churchman approved at Rome, could maintain friendly relations with a persuasive doubter: Dupanloup, whose own creed was held insufficient to entitle him to a scarlet hat, wished, on theological grounds, to keep a lexicographer out of a company engaged in dictionary making. This seems to be an example of the promotion of tolerance in England by the multiformity of sects and creeds. If Cardinal Manning had been the head of the one religion prominent in the realm, of which the only serious rivals were irreligion or indifference, his social and worldly relations would have been restricted. The old Oxford man could cultivate sympathetic intimacy with younger members of his University without reference to their faith: but if Renan, whose opinions resemble those of Arnold, and whose abjuration had not been more extensive than that of Manning in the opposite direction, had, from love of his old college, frequented the

[1] Cardinals A. G. de Rohan, de Rohan-Soubise, de Luynes, and de Bernis; Archbishop de Boisgelin; Bishops Boyer, Surian, and de Roquelaure. All these ecclesiastics were not simultaneously of the Académie Française, but Voltaire was a member from 1747 to 1778, so saw several generations of Immortals.

society of Sulpicians, loud would have been the scandal in France.

The idea that the population of both sexes is roughly divided into two great sections, consisting of those who more or less implicitly bow to the authority of the Church, and of those who more or less consistently hold that thought is free, encourages the teachers of the first category not only in exclusiveness, but also in the tradition of Rome which would circumscribe the sources of human knowledge available for mankind. Of all the works ever proscribed by the wisdom of the Congregation of the Index there are none which the French clergy more heartily ban than those of Voltaire, until his name in their sermons has come to represent the principle of infidelity, like the "Jews and Turks" in the English liturgy. The position in French estimation of Voltaire is about as much affected by the declamations of the priesthood as the conversion of the Hebrew community in England is quickened, or the Eastern question modified, by the prayers of the Established Church. The obloquy poured upon him is too indiscriminate, and there are multitudes of French people, especially in the rural districts, who would never hear his name but for the vague sound of it from the pulpit after the Gospel on Sunday mornings. An excellent Savoyard priest, whom I knew, used to exhort his flock "to burn the works of Voltaire and of Rousseau in their libraries." Among the toil-worn rustics whom he addressed, the richest in printed possessions rarely had even a cheap newspaper to read; but the simple-minded Curé, a peasant himself, cherished the admonitions he had heard at the Seminary across the lake at Annecy, the city of Madame de Warens as well as of Sainte Chantal; so there were local reasons

for including the scandalous Jean-Jacques in the maledictions usually reserved in other dioceses for the philosopher of Ferney.

Although the spiritual declensions of these villagers were not due to their literary temptations, in the next parish there was a house containing a library, of which the good Abbé did not know, and in it M. Taine had written of Voltaire's work, "It includes the entire scope of human knowledge, and I know not what idea of importance would be wanting in a man who had for his breviary the Dialogues, the Dictionary, and the Romances."[1] Few of his contemporaries had as vast a stock of learning as Taine, so the testimonial is of value. Voltaire, in spite of his inaccuracies, his prejudices, and his false canons of criticism, the more he is studied the more he amazes with the force of his genius. Ideas without number, which later generations regard as novel or audacious, he has anticipated. Mr. Huxley related that he had a friend who was one of the most original thinkers in the world, but he never emitted an original thought, as, never having read anything, he was unaware that others had come to identical conclusions. The study of Voltaire gives the impression that there are many of our modern teachers in the same case, as far as he is concerned. If we take the one small section of his work which has specially brought him under the ban of the Church, that in which he deals with revealed religion, we find his judgments constantly reproduced in our day as novelties. If an Anglican clergyman, in essaying the reconciliation of science with revelation, throws overboard a Mosaic narrative or a Messianic prophecy ; if a Presbyterian minister,

[1] *Ancien Régime,* liv. iv. c. i. 4.

for similar recusancy, incurs pursuit for heresy, the arguments or inferences of each have a familiar sound to those who have studied Voltaire. This is no reflection on the learning or the good faith of such seekers after truth, for German criticism, which undermines the impregnable rock of Holy Scripture by the mechanism of Oriental erudition, not at the disposal of Voltaire, arrives at the same results; while at the other end of the intellectual scale the questions of the Kaffir catechumen which perplexed Dr. Colenso, who was first an arithmetician and then a bishop, are to be found in Voltaire's *Philosophie*.

The beautiful landscape amid which Taine wrote his eulogy of Voltaire teems with associations exhorting Frenchmen to tolerance. Savoy was in language and in sentiment a part of France when politically distinct, and its residents, both natives and settlers, have for centuries given lustre to French literature and eloquence. Above the pleasant home of M. Taine, by the Lake of Annecy, stands the Château of Menthon, whence, in the dim Middle Ages, St. Bernard went to found the Alpine sanctuaries which bear his name. The family of the Saint still inhabits the castle, and thither every year came Mgr. Dupanloup to recruit his pious vigour in the hill-country of his birth. The lattice of his chamber looks on one of the fairest prospects in Europe. In the foreground is the knoll by the water-side, where lies buried the philosopher whom the Bishop would have kept out of the French Academy had he lived and had his way; at the end of the lake rise the old battlements of the city where repose the remains of a Savoyard prelate more illustrious than the eminent Gallican; to Annecy, a century after St. François de Sales had been laid to rest in the convent of

the Visitation, came Jean-Jacques Rousseau from Geneva, which lies beneath the low ridge of the Jura, visible on the horizon, marking also the spot where Voltaire retired for the last twenty years of his life to exercise his sway over the generation about to see the French Revolution.

No doubt there are earnest people who for different reasons would consider that the existence of each of these men was a misfortune for the French race. Ardent Protestants might deplore the conversion of the Chablais by St. François from the Reformed faith. Protestants might join with Catholics in deprecating Voltaire's onslaughts on their common Christianity. Lovers of orderly progress might regret the sentimental abstractions of Rousseau which aided the anarchy of the Revolution. Ultramontanes, as well as free-thinkers, might object to the teachings of the masterful Bishop of Orleans; and champions of the Revolution might, equally with the orthodox, lament the destruction of their idols by Taine. But the greatness of France has sprung from the diversity of intellect which has formed and illustrated the French language. Perfect tolerance is an impossible ideal, as it implies the disappearance of human pride and passion. Yet even in France, where the course of history has been unfavourable to its approximation, its beauties are recognised if not practised. On the façade of the most successful of modern public schools in Paris, the Lycée erected by the munificence of M. Janson de Sailly, in the agreeable quarter which lies between the Champs Élysées and the Bois de Boulogne, the bust of Bossuet is seen side by side with that of Voltaire, while Fénelon's is flanked by the effigies of Rousseau and of Molière,

both of whom were banned by the Church of the Archbishop of Cambrai.

Voltaire, though he rallied the British nation on the number of its sects, saw that this was of greater advantage to the cause of tolerance than the tendency, then developing in France, to range the community into two camps.[1] Since his time religious persuasions have multiplied in our midst, within as well as without the Established Church; and could he have looked into the future he would have observed a phenomenon which even he could not have anticipated. He would have seen that the diversity of creeds in England has been much more productive of tolerance than has been in France the great Revolution of which he saw the approach: that while the celebration by his countrymen of the centenary of his death was denounced by Mgr. Dupanloup as a declaration of war on Christianity, Cardinal Guibert ordaining a ceremony at Notre Dame de Paris to expiate the impious fête, the Church of England — no longer the Erastian institution which he had known in Bolingbroke's days, but an active agency of positive doctrine — extended its charity to conspicuous exponents of Voltairian philosophy. Mr. Arnold's criticism of the Book of Isaiah, Mr. Tyndall's suggestion for a test of the efficacy of prayer, and Mr. Huxley's reflections on the Gadarene swine are all pure Voltaire, in conclusion if not in style or in spirit; yet instead of being refused Christian burial, as their precursor was by the Curé of

[1] "Je crois que depuis notre révolution l'Angleterre est le pays où le christianisme fait le moins de mal. La raison en est que ce torrent est divisé chez nous en dix ou douze ruisseaux, soit presbytériens soit autres dissenters." — *Lettre de Milord Cornsburi à Milord Bolingbroke* (1736).

St. Sulpice, those eminent men were in their death accorded the same rites that the Church of England bestows on its strictest sons.[1]

The posthumous treatment of Renan and of Matthew Arnold in their respective countries was peculiarly striking. The *Comment on Christmas* is a piece of criticism as destructive of orthodox Christian belief as anything ever written by the historian of Israel, the only difference being that Arnold addressed a select circle of cultured people, while Renan was a philosopher of wider celebrity and influence. In England Arnold was quietly laid to rest in a peaceful country graveyard, and the comforting office of the national Church was read over the remains of the gentle apostle of doubt, without any Englishman daring or wishing to say that the sacred rite was inappropriate from any point of view. But Renan's funeral was a pompous anti-religious spectacle; the courtyard of the Collège de France was decked as a Temple of Reason, from which the body was borne amid red wreaths, like those which survivors of the Commune place on the wall at Père la Chaise where their comrades were shot. Renan would not have minded the maledictions with which the clerical press saluted his death; but that he, a fastidious aristocrat by instinct, should have had his funeral car decked with revolutionary garlands, and acclaimed by the

[1] Of course it may be urged that the Church of England is so broad that not only may every English layman claim its membership irrespective of dogmatic belief, but even in its day of Catholic revival exponents of free-thought are found among the most esteemed of its clergy. I have the best reason for knowing that M. Renan brought away from his personal intercourse with Mr. Jowett the impression that their attitude to revealed religion was practically identical.

rabble, would have sorely vexed his soul. It was a retribution for an attitude which he sometimes assumed in his lifetime. As his old friend Jules Simon said, "I forgave him for being a doubter, but I could not forgive him for rejoicing in his doubts." Far different was the demeanour of Taine, whose scepticism was not exuberant, and who, scandalised at the unseemly scene at the obsequies of Renan, directed that he should be buried according to the Protestant rite: for civil interment in France is used as a political demonstration.

III

It is a notable contrast that in England, amid bitter feud on the subject of funeral rites, universal sentiment is so opposed to burial without prayers that it is considered an indignity, reducing man to the level of the lower animals, which even a suicide should be spared: whereas in France, though civil obsequies are equally repugnant to mourners, and rare outside the great towns, they are sometimes, in the case of Ministers of the Republic and of other prominent persons, flaunted before the public, as though to deprive weeping women and children of hope and consolation were an act of civic virtue.[1] On such occasions is displayed the sectarian spirit ani-

[1] In the provinces the feeling against civil interment is strong, and even in the case of anti-clerical leaders it is rare that their families permit their political colleagues to deprive them of sacred rites; though the mother or the widow is sometimes abused in the anti-clerical journals for insisting on a religious service. On the other hand, when the clericals for a short season got the upper hand, under the government of the Seize Mai, they tried coercive measures against civil funerals, the Préfet at Lyons decreeing that they should only be tolerated before eight o'clock in the morning.

mating the exponents of free-thought. The French term *libre pensée* more plainly indicates its presumed connection with Liberty, yet in France its cult has produced the most curious phase of intolerance manifested under the Third Republic. Anti-clericalism may be a useful remedy to moderate the pretensions of the sacerdotal caste in a nation where, since the decline of Gallicanism, ecclesiastics regard themselves sometimes as the mandatories of a foreign potentate; but free-thinkers contravene the basis of their own profession in erecting anti-clericalism into a dogma, not only to be paraded on occasions like that of a public civil funeral, but even to be imposed on others as a test of citizenship. In the unhappy period when the name of Ferry was associated with outrages offered to religious communities or to sacred emblems, they were the incidents of a war of religion, of which the tradition has always been more cruel than that of merely secular strife. But while it was the clerical faction which began the conflict, in their merciless retaliation M. Paul Bert and the anti-clericals revealed that their conception of liberty did not include the enjoyment of freedom by their adversaries. Every-day life in France at normal times unfortunately abounds in instances of the application of their doctrine.

The efforts of the exponents of free-thought to penalise religious observance afford a peculiar example. In England Dissenters and Catholics used to be punished for attending divine worship after their own rites; and in France, from 1685 to the Revolution, Protestants were subject to similar treatment. But in neither case was Liberty invoked to palliate the coercive policy: in both countries it was frankly applied to enforce conformity to

the creed of the State. The intolerant system under the Third Republic differs from all persecutions known to history, in that it is not only practised in the name of Liberty, but it aims at laying official disability on an established religion. Not that there is any vexatious legal restraint on the cult of the Roman Catholic faith analogous to the English Penal Laws or to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The clergy are free to provide public offices in the churches for every hour of the day and the night. Nevertheless a French citizen who is dependent on the State for his livelihood is not always at liberty to accompany his wife and his children to mass on Sunday morning, without risking his future prospects and their means of sustenance.

"No one has any idea what a noxious and insupportable creature is the anti-clerical in the provinces. Always eager to accuse others of fanaticism, he is the bitterest and most oppressive of fanatics himself. Under the mask of free-thought he would like to prevent his neighbours from thinking differently from himself, being violently and despotically narrow, for all his boasts of liberal-mindedness. If he were only a harmless fanatic it would not matter; but he is an aggressive persecutor, malignantly meddling in affairs which do not concern him, attacking or denouncing honest folks, public functionaries and others, with whose conscience he has nothing to do, threatening them on account of their opinions, which he calls 'subversive' because they do not agree with his. If he be a town-councillor, or in any similar position, he uses all his influence to set up irreligion as a standard of citizenship."[1]

[1] *Journal des Débats,* November 17, 1893. The *Débats* and the *Temps*

The foregoing quotation is not from an organ of the sacristy. It is from the *Journal des Débats*, to which Renan and Taine were contributors as long as they lived; and under the Third Republic it has had to recognise that the sectarian intolerance of the later Jacobins is a greater peril to liberty in France than the pretensions of the Church.

That picture was drawn in an Eastern department. In the West the following incident came under my own notice. The postmaster of a town in the Vendée, who, as is usual in that region, observed his religious duties, was sent for by the sous-Préfet, who said to him: "It is reported that you are a constant attendant at church on Sunday; more than that, you always take a book with you; and a man who follows the service with a book must not be surprised if he is put down as a clerical. Besides, there are your daughters: the eldest, who is being educated at the convent, sings in the chapel choir, and her sister makes the collection at the parish church. Now all these facts are noted against you here in your *dossier*, and I think it fair to warn you that you are getting the reputation of being a Clerical."[1] The post-

(which, if it has any religious bias, is disposed to favour liberal Protestantism) are the only two journals which I have consulted to supplement my personal observations of anti-clerical intolerance, as their impartiality is unimpeachable. The testimony of Clerical and Reactionary organs should not be accepted uncorroborated on this subject, any more than that of the Radical and anti-Clerical press on the misdeeds of the clergy; but the journals of the Extreme Left, especially in the provinces, often reveal with great candour the proceedings of their party in their strife with the Church.

[1] *Dossier* is the name given to the confidential collection of documents relating to every functionary of the State, which his chiefs consult when there is question of his promotion or dismissal. Each bishop has his *dossier* carefully annotated at the Ministry of Public Worship, each mag-

master consulted the Curé, who is a rare example among the French parochial clergy of an accomplished man of the world, and he said, "You have your wife and children to think about, so you ought not to sacrifice your chances of promotion for trifles not essential. Leave your prayer-book at home if it offends the anti-clericals, tell the good Sisters not to let your daughter sing in the convent choir, and I will find another of our young friends to take the place of your second girl in making the collection here on Sunday." The venerable rector's advice was sagacious: nevertheless in a land where such sagacity is needful it is clear that the term Liberty has a peculiar and special meaning. The sous-Préfet in this case was an official of mild and considerate demeanour, who seemed incapable of tyranny. His warning of the postmaster was probably an act of kindness; for in the Vendée, a Royalist as well as a Catholic stronghold, an agent of the Government would have strict orders from the Ministry of the Interior to flatter the zeal of the anti-clerical party.

The form which persecution takes in different countries, like that of all other human action, is necessarily affected by the interior economy and the institutions of each community. In England instances of tyranny may be found practised on the one hand by members of the rural clergy, and on the other by trade-unions in industrial districts; the reason being that the ancient organisation of the parish and the modern organisation of the trade-guild have put facilities for oppression at the

istrate at the Ministry of Justice; while the reports relating to the great army of minor officials in the provinces are kept and revised at the préfectures and sous-préfectures of the departments. See vol. ii. p. 113.

disposal of men of domineering temper, who are found in all nations and in all classes of life. But the foregoing incident could have no counterpart among us, because pressure of the kind described can only in a highly centralised state be brought to bear upon public functionaries. In France they form a numerous body, ready to be organised for political purposes apart from their official duties. The system was constructed to work as an essential portion of the machinery of autocratic government: but under parliamentary institutions and unstable ministries the direction of the centralised machine has, as we shall see, passed out of the hands of ephemeral ministers into those of local committees, self-constituted and irresponsible, which often exercise a sinister despotism in provincial neighbourhoods. Thus the functionaries who under illiberal régimes have been coldly looked upon for neglecting religious observances are, under the liberal dispensation of the Republic, denounced as enemies of the Government if they go to church.

The liberty which the anti-clerical sectaries withhold from public officials they do not willingly extend to private individuals who wish to stand well with the party in power. In a part of Touraine associated less with the religious strife of the Renaissance in that region than with the earlier tradition of Joan of Arc, whom clericals and anti-clericals equally extol, near the road between Azay-le-Rideau and Chinon, is the small village of Villaines. The smiling landscape through which the Maid passed on her miraculous mission to Charles VII. does not seem to have retained her mystical spirit, for "A Group of Republicans" there felt moved to denounce in a

journal of Tours the following scandal: "In our commune," they said, "the curé, wishing to make his services more attractive, has been looking out for singers. With our good pastor's efforts to increase his income we have nothing to do, but what does astonish us is to see in the choir two sons of an old democrat hitherto a staunch liberal and anti-clerical. Is it possible that a soldier of the Republican army has failed to bring up his children in sound principles, or has he let them be perverted by the curé to abandon 'Marianne' for the Blessed Virgin? In either case he would do well to give us a plain answer, in order to allay the malevolent suspicions which he has aroused in the hearts of his friends."[1]

Similar instances might be quoted from every department, and unhappily it is often too true that the tyranny of free-thought is retaliation for acts of clerical intolerance in the past. But the free-thinking sectarians are not content with attacking the pretensions of Rome, or even of Christianity. The public expression of any religious belief excites their arrogant wrath. Thus at Dôle in the Jura it is the custom each winter to commemorate the inhabitants who died in 1870 defending their homes against the Prussians. One year the mayor issued a placard inviting the population to take part in the usual ceremony, in which he said, "Our pious souvenirs will go beyond the tomb to show our fellow-townsmen that we do not forget them." In the land of the Sequani once ruled by Marcus Aurelius, there are cinerary relics of the

[1] *L'Éclaireur: organe de la démocratie socialiste de l'Ouest*, 5 *Mai*, 1895. With this may be compared the proceedings of the "Possibiliste-Broussiste" group of the socialists in a quarter of Paris who rejected the candidature of one of their number for the Municipal Council because it was ascertained he had been married in a church (*Temps*, 23 Decembre, 1892).

Roman occupation before the introduction of Christianity, on which is inscribed a more definite evocation of the dead: but the freemasons of the town-council saw in the language of the mayor a clerical manœuvre to make official "the deplorable superstition of a life beyond the tomb," and an expurgated placard was pasted over the other.

As there are few of the French who do not practise the pathetic cult of the dead, an incident like this displays a peculiar feature of the tyranny of free-thought. In every other religious persecution in France, from the martyrdoms of Lyons and Vienne in the second century to the dragonnades of the Protestants under Louis XIV., the oppressed have been a feeble minority; but under the Third Republic it is the minority which imposes its narrow policy on the majority. In the whole population there is not one person in a hundred who is an anti-religious bigot, and even among the men of France who form the electorate, the sectaries of free-thought are a small minority, smaller than the clerical party of the other extreme. The great majority of Frenchmen are tolerant or indifferent; they resent ecclesiastical interference, but they have no active sympathy with the zealots of anti-clericalism. But the latter in their masonic lodges, which in France are not mere convivial or charitable sodalities, and their local committees, are effectively organised and are thus a potent influence in the government of the country. When we examine the Parliamentary System, we shall see that one sign of its unsuitability to the French temperament is that it invests with undue power a minority composed of the least worthy elements of the nation, this being a worse evil and more subversive of liberty than

the regular delegation of authority to an autocratic government. Here we have to observe the constraint laid by the minority on the representatives of the whole nation.

About the tradition imposed on the President of the Republic never to pronounce the name of God in any public utterance, for fear of offending the free-thinkers, I will say nothing, as the subject is somewhat delicate. The contrary practice of all other civilised rulers, from the Emperor of Russia to the President of the United States, is not permitted in France, where the sacred name is regarded by the anti-clericals as such a symbol of superstition that a school edition of La Fontaine, who passed for a Liberal in his day, was by them expurgated of all reference to the Deity, in order not to mislead the young with ideas too fabulous even to be tolerated in fable.[1] M. Félix Faure would be the last to give his voluntary approval to such sectarian vagaries, for he seems to be a large-minded representative of the tolerant majority of the French nation. Yet like every other functionary of the Republic, he submits to the terrorism of the anti-clericals. Otherwise it would not be explicable why the

[1] Among the emendations made in the edition of La Fontaine for the use of schools, drawn up by the direction of the Municipal Council of Paris, was in the opening of the well-known fable which begins:—

> Petit poisson deviendra grand
> Pourvu que Dieu lui prête vie.

For which the second line was made to read "Pourvu que l'on lui prête vie." The story was revived by the *Temps* in calling attention to a similar proceeding of the Conseil-Général of the Sarthe, at its meeting in August, 1896, when on the motion of M. Leporché, a Radical senator, a vote of censure was passed on the inspector of primary schools at Le Mans for setting questions in an examination "which implied the existence of a God." It should be said that the population of the Sarthe is decidedly Catholic, a large minority being actively clerical in tendency.

Chief of the State, who under the Concordat has to preside at semi-ecclesiastical ceremonies, — such as the investiture of French cardinals with the scarlet hat, — should avoid official appearance in churches, as though they were places of ill repute.[1] He goes to Reims to inaugurate a statue of Joan of Arc, but though the only association of the Maid with that city is in the cathedral where she brought Charles VII. to be crowned, the President dares not set foot in it, and delays his arrival till the festal service is over within the glorious walls. He makes an official tour in Brittany where, Republican or Royalist, every man is an ardent Catholic, yet though spending a Sunday in the cathedral town of Quimper and welcomed at the Préfecture by the Bishop, he may not gratify the pious population of Cornouailles by attending service in the shrine of St. Corentin for fear of the criticisms of the anti-clerical press in Paris.

President Faure did on one occasion make an official visit to a church. When the Tsar of Russia came to Paris, the young autocrat profited from the curious deference paid him by the French nation to read the Republican Government a lesson in religious decorum. Though not a member of the Roman communion, he expressed his desire to pay his respects to the religion professed by the majority of the people whose guest he was, and thus the President of the Republic went officially to the metropolitan Cathedral of Notre Dame, not as the chosen chief of many millions of Catholics, but as the polite attendant of

[1] The anti-clericals in the Chamber having blamed M. Faure's presence at Notre Dame at the obsequies of victims of the fire in the rue Jean-Goujon, to which all the powers of Europe sent their envoys, the Ministry declared that the ceremony was not official. Ch. des Députés: Séance du, 25 Juin, 1897.

a foreign potentate. The Tsar plainly intimated to the French Government that only as a Christian prince did he accept its homage, and his first public act in France was to proceed with pomp to a solemn service in the Russian Church; though he had not found that ceremony necessary when visiting Great Britain or Germany. One of the most singular results of the Franco-Russian alliance was that, in its desire to please its august ally, the Republican Government, which officially ignored religious solemnities celebrated by Frenchmen and Frenchwomen, displayed a sudden cult for the offices of the Orthodox rite. On every birthday or other festival of the Imperial family of Romanoff, the high officials of the French Republic with such assiduity trooped to prayers to the Russian Church in the rue Daru, that an ingenuous stranger might have thought that it was not Christianity which the French anti-clericals disliked, but only the *filioque* clause of the Western creed.

The view adopted in these pages of this peculiar phase of liberty which widely prevails under the Third Republic is that of the majority of the French nation. In its exposition no effort has been made to disguise the intolerant tendencies of the clericals: but the restraints which they would lay on human action are not imposed in the name of liberty, as are the restrictions enforced by the zealots of free-thought, so they are less to be dreaded in the modern democratic State. Moreover, if tyranny has to be endured by a citizen at the end of the nineteenth century, the domination of the Church would seem a less evil than that of the anti-clericals. Both are highly undesirable, but if the choice of ills had to be made, it might be better to submit to those who profess a lofty ideal and a

severe moral code, than to undisciplined masters who have neither the one nor the other. But the municipal councillor who drives the sisters-of-mercy from the hospitals and deprives the village of the processions which used to delight his own children at the Fête Dieu or the Assumption, will reply with magniloquent gesture that the choice lies between him, the son of Voltaire, and the successors of those denounced by Voltaire for their share in the torturing and slaying of Jean Calas and of the Chevalier de la Barre in the name of religion.[1] Now next to a well-beneficed abbé of the Old Régime it is hard to conceive a type less pleasing to Voltaire, authoritative and fastidous, fresh from the court of Potsdam or holding his own levees of princes at Ferney, than a Radical politician of the Third Republic. Yet, even if the hatred of such an one for religion should justify his title of Voltairian, the circumstances are not quite the same as when the civil judges and officials of the French Monarchy pronounced and carried out iniquitous sentences on persons deemed to be hostile to the Catholic Church.

We are all familiar with the theme of the unchanging inclemency of the yoke of Rome, or with a wider version which associates the whole history of Christianity with the oppression of man by man. We may recognise that in all lands theological profession, or even opinion, has no necessary relation with moral conduct, and that in

[1] Jean Calas was a Protestant of Toulouse, broken on the wheel in 1763 on the false charge of having murdered his son for becoming a Catholic, the youth having in reality committed suicide. The Chevalier de la Barre was a boy of nineteen, executed at Abbeville in 1766, after having his tongue cut out, on the charge of having mutilated a wooden cross on the highway. Voltaire's pamphlets on these judicial crimes are included in his volumes of "Politique et Législation."

France the section of society most conspicuous in the ranks of Catholic laity is not pre-eminent in the nation for its ethical qualities. But when we descend from general proposition to particular instance, if we go to a French provincial centre under the Third Republic we find there that the extreme exponents of Christianity are worthier specimens of humanity and less inimical to liberty than are the extreme representatives of free-thought. In the society of a small provincial town, at one end is the Curé, usually a peasant by origin, with no other experience of the world than that gained in the limited horizons of his native village, of the diocesan seminary and of his parish. But though his intellectual development be imperfect, he has compensating qualities: his morals are pure; his rectitude is as notable as his homely shrewdness and good sense; simple-minded, unambitious, and self-denying, he often shares his meagre pittance with his poorer neighbours. Some, indeed, there are whose defects of character far outweigh their virtues, while others in nobility of life approach the level of human perfection; but the average parish priest generally corresponds to the foregoing description. At the other extremity are the leaders of free-thought: the doctor who dreams that the town-council may perhaps be his stepping-stone to the Chamber of Deputies; the journalist who hopes that the violence of his pen may take him to the provincial capital, or even to Paris. Their virtues are theoretical. In the name of liberty they would emancipate the human spirit from superstition. The local application of the principle involves the removal of the crucifix from the cemetery or the school-room, and the prohibition of religious processions in the streets.

The café is the meeting-place of these guardians of liberty, and it is there that the denunciation is concerted of the petty official who has been seen at church, or who has let his children take part in a service. Formerly the charge of church-going was equivalent to one of hostility to the Republic, though even when clericalism was really its enemy the population in some of the most Republican provinces of France was most assiduous in religious observance.[1] But since the Pope enjoined an active adherence to the existing régime on the clergy, who, for the most part, are democratic by instinct as well as by origin, the insinuation that a man who attends public worship is disloyal to the Government has to be more subtly suggested. The Church is the negation of the Revolution; the Republic is the only legitimate offspring of the Revolution; therefore adherence to the Catholic religion, even in most perfunctory form, in spite of nominal loyalty to the Republic, marks an unsound citizen who ought to receive no favour from the Government.

Sometimes it is seriously suggested that the tyrannical ideas which are thus made irregularly to regulate the lives of many French people shall be erected into laws. Such was the plan of M. Pochon, deputy for the Ain, who proposed that no Frenchman should be eligible for any public employment unless he had been educated in a Government school;[2] a project with nothing but its

[1] At the elections of 1881, which to a great extent were fought on Gambetta's party cry of "clericalism the enemy," among the departments in which not a single vote was given to the adversaries of the Republic was the Haute Savoie, where nearly all the male population goes to mass.

[2] Ministers of the Republic have essayed to carry out this intolerant policy. In the Chamber, on November 5, 1892, the question was raised of four youths in the department of the Pas de Calais, who had been

tyranny to recommend it, even in the interest of the party of irreligion, as, possibly because Frenchmen look back without pleasure to their school-days, many politicians hostile to the Church have been educated by the priests, while well-known clericals were pupils of the Lycées. Even in the Senate, where respect for liberty more generally prevails, a former Minister of Education,[1] utilising private reports procured during his term of office, proposed to force all persons in Government employment, under pain of dismissal, to send their children to Government schools. In many of the large towns of France the best secondary education is imparted in the Lycées; in certain other localities the schools conducted by religious Orders are better; but in either case it is an outrageous theory that a General or a Judge, by reason of his services to the State, should be deprived of his domestic liberties. It is not surprising, when voices of authority are heard enunciating such doctrine in the calm air of the Senate, that petty local tyrants should venture to apply their version of it to the cases of the minor functionaries under their influence.

When from the benches of the Extreme Left in the Legislature coercive measures, such as these, are proposed, their supporters cite the similar policy of the Second

disqualified from an open competition for clerkships in the "Ponts et Chaussées" on the ground that they had been educated by the Christian Brothers instead of at the Communal School. The Minister of Public Works (M. Viette) recognised the truth of the story, but said that the real reason why the boys had not been allowed to compete was because their fathers were active members of the clerical party. The *Temps* the following day, in the name of Liberalism, took the Ministry severely to task for its action in the matter.

[1] M. Combes, Senator of the Charente Inférieur and a Doctor of Medicine, Minister of Public Instruction from November, 1895, to April, 1896.

Empire to justify their demands. A Radical will retort to a Moderate Republican who advocates perfect liberty, "Do you think the Second Empire would have allowed its officers or its magistrates to send their children to schools where anti-Imperial ideas were taught?" The Second Empire would probably have acted as the Radicals would wish the Third Republic to act, but with less inconsistency. The Imperial autocracy had no abstract dispositions in favour of clericalism or of anti-clericalism. When it was thought expedient to conciliate the clergy, a promising young professor like Taine was sacrificed at the outset of his career, or Renan in his maturity was treated with rigour; but when the pretensions of the Church became excessive they were resisted on behalf of the Imperial Government by Victor Duruy, the most enlightened Minister of Education that France has had in the last half of the century, with the exception, perhaps, of Jules Simon. The tortuous ecclesiastical policy of the Second Empire is not a model to be followed; but whatever its faults, it was not in the name of Liberty that it ordained oppression.

Archbishop Ireland once, after hearing some of the grievances of his brethren of the French clergy, told them that he recognised the justice of their complaints, but that looking at past history, he believed that if they had the upper-hand they would be as intolerant as their irreligious oppressors. That prelate of the New World whose Christian charity is so strong that high ecclesiastical rank has failed to impair his love of liberty, knew France well, having been educated at the Seminary of Belley. He seemed to indicate that the French, irrespective of party or creed, were generally incapable of

understanding liberty and toleration in the highest sense; but that opinion needs some qualification. France contains a certain number of citizens who are patterns of philosophic tolerance such as no other land produces; but they are now too few even to form a group in the legislative assemblies. Some of them, indeed, survive on the benches of the Senate, and in the classes of the Institute they are relatively numerous. They retain the liveliest illusions on the perfection of the British Constitution, and since the State has bought the portrait by Ingres of Bertin, the creator of the *Journal des Débats*, the Louvre ought to be their place of pious pilgrimage, for that masterpiece is the type in portraiture of the Liberal bourgeoisie which might have governed France for a century instead of for one short intermediate epoch, if 1789 had not been followed by 1793, and the Empire had not come forth from the Terror. This select band is far from containing all the tolerance and love of liberty to be found in France; but the attachment to the principles of liberty and toleration of the vast majority of the population is of such a nature that they decline to interfere actively in any matters not of personal concern.

In these pages we shall see how important a factor in the life of the nation is the political indifference which prevails. The electors who refrain from recording their votes at the polls are numerous, but they do not include all the indifferent. If the industrious mass of the population seems supine in matters of public interest, whether national or local, except when they appeal to the individual, it must be borne in mind that the experience of a century is of a nature to make the peaceable citizens

of France sceptical as to the utility of interference in politics. Moreover, the excessive restrictions laid on liberty in France, whether enforced by Government or by irresponsible hands, do not lessen the happiness of a large proportion of the inhabitants. The hard-working tradesman or peasant, either in his laborious days or in his occasional hours of diversion, is, save in rare cases, not often harassed either by the rigours of the administration or by the tyranny of politicians who exercise undue influence under the Parliamentary System.

Thus as the old Liberal party is unhappily ineffective, and the toiling tranquil population is indifferent, two intolerant factions are exclusively conspicuous to the superficial view. There is the party of reaction, of which the most durable and the best organised element is the clerical section: and there is the Jacobin party. It is likely enough that the former, if ever it became predominant, would, as the discerning American prelate said, lay grievous restraints on liberty: but as its efforts in that direction since the reign of Charles X. had no signal success when powerful lay influence was exerted on its behalf, either under the Second Empire or during the Presidency of Marshal MacMahon, there is no fear of it constituting a danger to a people long habituated to freedom from priestly domination. Indeed the Church and the centralised administration, both of which operate in France by means of the machinery devised by Napoleon, tend much less to interfere with personal liberty than does the action of that section of the population, which, hostile to those organisations, would in the name of Liberty subject the entire nation to its narrow doctrine. The Church with its mystical and moral author-

ity, and the administrative system with its ramified and deep-rooted stability, are two of the chief defences of a sober and industrious people against anarchy, which is incompatible with all liberty.

The extreme politicians who tyrannise in the provinces are generally associated with the party of disorder in Paris and in the populous centres, which has excessive weight with ministries and urges them to intolerant policy. Anti-clericalism is indeed often professed by authoritative opponents of anarchy. That, however, is not the usual tendency of the sectaries, who terrorise public servants of every degree, from the humble functionary, deprived by them of his liberty to regulate the most sacred details of his domestic life, to the President of the Republic, who for fear of them must not be seen in a church. They are the descendants of the Jacobins who diverted the course of the Revolution to their own purposes. Though their aims and doctrines differ in some particulars, they have one point of resemblance: they are only a handful of the population. M. Taine has elaborately proved that the Jacobin conquest of France, after 1789, was accomplished by a party which did not include in its ranks one-twentieth of the male adults left in France.[1] So a century later, after a generation of tranquillity, just as in the period succeeding the great upheaval, the majority of the French people have the same dread of anarchy which then drove them into surrendering some of the liberties recently won in order to escape the worst form of oppression. Hence it is not impossible that the curious conception which

[1] *Révolution*, vol. ii. liv. i. c. ii.

the revolutionary minority has of liberty, coupled with the inability of parliamentary government to check its pretensions, might become a contributing force to impel the French nation to try a new experiment in government to inaugurate the new century.

CHAPTER III

EQUALITY

I

THERE are without doubt many French people who would willingly see the principle of Liberty more liberally applied; but this can hardly be said of the second great theory of the Revolution. It is, however, no reproach to the French that Equality is neither found nor cultivated among them, for the contrary could only be the case if they ceased to belong to the human family. What is open to criticism is their official pretension that their nation is endowed with a quality which has never existed in any community of mankind; so, as at the end of the nineteenth century they repeat the legend adopted at the Revolution, the student is bound in courtesy to inquire into its signification, and to see if its perpetuation has a good or an evil effect in the land.

The first stage of the Revolution did appear to produce relative equality in the French nation. The abolition of privilege and the equalisation of all classes before the tax-gatherer and the tribunals was such a change from the oppression which had provoked the upheaval, that men excusably believed that an era of equality had arrived. But soon human passion asserted itself, and the accredited

leaders of the movement, members of the long suppressed middle-class, revealed that their idea of Equality was equality with people who pretended to be of superior rank to them. As was said sixty years later by Tocqueville, than whom none knew better the true results of the Revolution, the word Equality in the lips of a French politician signifies, "No one shall be in a better position than mine."[1] This was the sentiment of the Jacobins of the Terror. Camille Desmoulins, the same summer that he, a briefless barrister deeply in debt, had become a popular hero by his inflammatory harangues in the Palais Royal on the eve of the fall of the Bastille, wrote privately of his improved position: "An additional pleasure is to put myself in my proper place, to display my power to those who despised me, to bring down to my level those whom fortune had set above me. My motto is that of all honest folks, 'no superior.'"[2] For four years he pursued his upward career, displaying his power by demanding the heads of his colleagues of the Convention, till at last the chief accuser of the Girondins found that he had to recognise a superior in Robespierre, who sent him vociferating to the scaffold, a few months before the autocrat of the Revolution himself became a victim to the device of the Republic, as it was sometimes written in 1794: "Liberty, Equality, or Death."

The season in which the guillotine did its levelling work is looked back upon with satisfaction by only a select few of the sons of the Revolution. The revolu-

[1] *Alexis de Tocqueville et la démocratie libérale: Étude suivie de fragments des entretiens de Tocqueville avec N. W. Senior* (1848-58), par E. d'Eichthal.

[2] September 20, 1789.

tionary period which has been extolled by Frenchmen of every party, excepting extreme Legitimists, is that of the Constituent Assembly. Yet before it was a year old its acts took so little account of human nature that they were condemned from their inception. When at the famous night sitting of August 4, 1789, the deputies of the clergy and of the nobility abandoned all their privileges, fiscal, feudal, and judicial, the only criticism which can be made of that great rectification of inequality is that it was too sudden. The baneful institutions were abolished without anything being ready to take their place, so anarchy and chaos were the result. But the reform was both well-conceived and essential, — qualities which were soon lacking in the acts of the Assembly. Just a year after it had, in the Tennis Court at Versailles,[1] solemnly sworn not to separate before giving a constitution to France, it paused on the way to suppress all nobiliary titles and honorific distinctions, declaring that henceforth, under pain of fine and deprivation of civic rights, no Frenchman should take or keep the title of duke, prince, marquis, count, baron, or similar style, or use under any circumstances any appellation but that of his family name.

A hundred years later, a generation grown up under a Republic, in which nobility has no place and which claims to have inherited the complete doctrine of 1789 and 1790, reads in the newspapers any morning a list of names of the frequenters of a Parisian place of amusement, including more French subjects styled count or marquis than are to be found in a volume of St. Simon;

[1] "Serment du Jeu de Paume," June 20, 1789. "Suppression de tous les titres et distinctions honorifiques," June 19, 1790.

while the Republic itself allows the members of its legislature, and even its salaried functionaries, to deck themselves with whatever title seems good to them. Moreover, though the First Empire and the Restoration lavishly disregarded the prohibition of the Constituent Assembly, Louis Philippe and Napoleon III. conferred only a limited number of hereditary titles. So, nearly seventy years after their creation practically ceased, the result of the law of 1790, under a Republican régime which professes to respect its principle, is that nobiliary titles have multiplied in France to an extent which would have scandalised a king of the Ancient Monarchy who was the sole fountain of honour.

No doubt the abolition of titles was the logical corollary of the abolition of privilege, and to the theorists of 1790 it seemed unreasonable that men should be distinguished among their fellows by meaningless rank which only kept alive the memory of discarded abuses; but their conclusion proved their ignorance of human nature. The enthusiasm of some of the revolutionaries was as single-minded as it was chimerical; but the sentiment expressed by Camille Desmoulins inspired much of the action of that period, and had he kept his head on his shoulders another four months, till Robespierre's had fallen, he might have attained the exalted rank enjoyed by guillotining levellers as ferocious as himself, — like Fouché, whose dukedom of the Empire was confirmed by Louis XVIII., the brother of his most illustrious victim. The impotence of the revolutionaries, after redressing grievous abuses, to establish the theory of the equality of mankind is revealed on every page of French history for a century. Here we may observe some of its contemporary mani-

festations, and they will incidentally allow us to glance at a section of the population which otherwise might be neglected in a work primarily concerned with the political forces of France.

The most superficial traveller may remark the curious fact that in England, which is an unmilitary monarchy, the importunates who infest the exits of London theatres deem that the surest way of winning custom is by addressing a person whose carriage they offer to call as "Captain"; whereas under the Republic, in warlike but egalitarian France, a member of that disinherited class addresses his possible client as "Monsieur le Comte," or, if unduly avaricious, as "Mon Prince." And just as the peaceful attorney rolls home to Bayswater in a hansom not dissatisfied with the recognition of his martial air, so does the Republican deputy descend the Boulevard satisfied that his features bear a stamp of noble distinction superior to that of his colleagues in the Chamber. The conclusion is that an Englishman, though he deprecates conscription, and though his country has only once in living memory been at war with a civilised power, has a human weakness for fighting; and that a Frenchman, however sincere his official creed that titular honours have no place in the democratic State, has an equally human disbelief in the equality of rank.

Before glancing at the nobiliary titles used by an ever-increasing number of French citizens under the Republic, we ought to notice the legalised mode whereby the Government counteracts the principle of Equality advertised in its revolutionary device. The Legion of Honour founded by Napoleon during the Consulate, and reorganised at various epochs, is the object of much criticism in

France ; but it is an excellent institution of its kind. As all the powers of Europe, excepting Switzerland, have found that government is facilitated by the faculty of distributing among their subjects honorary distinctions, titular or decorative, the French system of one great national Order seems to offer all the advantages of symmetry, which is a feature of the creations of the Napoleonic settlement. It is composed of five classes, and it cannot be compared with any method existing in our country for rewarding merit. The divisions of Grand Crosses and of Grand Officers are so essentially military in composition that for French civilians they are more exclusive in point of number than any category of honours at the disposal of an English minister.[1] The intermediate Legionaries styled Commanders and Officers correspond in some degree to the British subjects who in expanding crowds receive baronetcies, knighthoods, or companionships. They include diplomatists, functionaries, men of letters and of science, judges, provincial mayors, railway officials, journalists, politicians, and tradesmen, in addition to the multitude of soldiers

[1] In a recent roll of the Legion of Honour, out of 48 Grand Crosses held by French subjects, 7 only were held by civilians. Of 227 Grand Officers 49 were civilians ; thus making a total of 56 civilians invested with the two highest distinctions at the disposal of the French Government. There are 63 ribbons of the Garter, the Thistle and St. Patrick available for British subjects (though they are not bestowed on the ground of merit), to say nothing of the much more numerous Grand Crosses of our other five orders, which have more resemblance to the high ranks of the Legion of Honour. Moreover, nowadays there are always at least sixty peers of the first creation surviving in our country. But although the high promotions in the Legion of Honour are often conferred on men whose position would in England give them a claim to peerages, such as ambassadors, colonial governors, and men eminent in science, art, and letters, there is no sort of analogy between the distinctions.

and sailors whose predominance in all ranks of the Order preserves its originally military character. All, however, must have passed a period of probation in the fifth class of Knights of the Legion of Honour, which is unlimited in numbers, and never has fewer than several thousand members, so it does not resemble any institution in our country.

If it be for the public good that a portion of a human community should be singled out for distinction by the Government under which it exists, the broad basis of the Legion of Honour seems to present certain advantages. It puts a wide-spread premium on good behaviour. Every citizen of France, in town and country, without overweening ambition, which often ruins the happiness of well-meaning persons, may regard the coveted red-ribbon as a distinction not beyond his reach. Honours of all categories are in all countries often conferred on the undeserving and the impudent; and a grave objection made by French critics to the miscellaneous bestowal of the Order is that it is a military decoration, giving all its wearers the right to be saluted by soldiers, and to be buried with martial escorts, so that its occasional possession by blackmailing journalists and other miscreants brings indirect stigma on the gallant army of France. That is a domestic question which does not concern this inquiry. From the egalitarian point of view the disadvantage of the system is that it tends to make the French a nation of supplicants, each man soliciting to have confirmed his superiority over his neighbour. Twice annually, at the New Year, and on the day of the fall of the Bastille, supreme festival of Equality, the new nominations and promotions are pub-

lished, being the result of many months' importuning of ministers. So vast is the host of applicants that two other species of decorations have had to be developed or invented outside the national Order; — the Academic Palms, a distinction divided into two classes, and dispensed by the departments of Education, Fine Arts, and Public Worship, and the ribbon of "Mérite Agricole" conferred by the Minister of Agriculture. Thus, whenever the President of the Republic visits officially a provincial town, he goes with the definite mission of displaying that equality is discountenanced by the State; for it is his practice to seize the occasion to distinguish local notables with invidious disparity. The worthiest in the eyes of the Government he invests with the Legion of Honour; while other inhabitants of mark he practically tells that they are of inferior condition, not good enough for the red-ribbon, and only entitled to the modest violet of the Academy, or the rustic green of Agriculture.

But though the conferring of the national Order and of the departmental decorations is an official contradiction of the principle of equality, yet in one outward aspect the recipients of these distinctions remain on a level. From M. Pasteur, who wore the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, to the humble farmer who, for skilfully using his discoveries, has won the Mérite Agricole, none of the decorated have any style or title affixed to their names. Moreover the consorts of citizens so honoured are of rank as naked as the wife of an English archbishop. In our country it is said that if the correspondence of party whips and of ministers' secretaries were made public, it would reveal that the most ardent

solicitations of titles are attributed to feminine ambition. An unpretending manufacturer will write that since a rival tradesman was knighted by the preceding ministry, his wife has vowed that a baronetcy conferred on her husband will alone give her the precedence proper to her merits; or a reluctant millionaire will demand a peerage on similar grounds, while declaring that personally he has a clinging love for the lowly rank in which he was born; and the adviser of the Crown, though aware of the disingenuousness of the petition, will sometimes, in defiance of the most venerable tradition of antiquity, reward his unblushing supporter who pleads that he has hearkened unto the voice of his wife. That, generally speaking, the vanity of the male is more aggressive in these matters, is perhaps shown by the fact that in official France women are content with the spectacular joy of their masters' beribboned button-holes. Nevertheless, the pleasure derived by both sexes from being addressed by their fellow-creatures with titles implying superiority, accounts for the curious phenomenon we are about to notice.

II

While the Legion of Honour, though opposed to the principle of equality, is bestowed on the ground of desert, achievement, or service, nobiliary titles are every year assumed wholesale by French subjects without pretence of meritorious or useful actions, and are in most cases conferred by their wearers. Apart from the theory that, none being recognised by the Republic, all titles of nobility borne by French citizens are irregular, there are a certain number in use in France as authentic, as regu-

larly inherited and as interesting in origin as any in Europe. But so multitudinous are the persons who assume noble affixes according to their fancy, that outside those of the chiefs of ducal houses, no Frenchman but a learned expert can judge whether a title held by one of his countrymen, whatever his social position, be his due heritage or an unwarranted assumption.

The confusion would be less if it were not that thousands of the transgressors are connected with noble families. The French nobility before the Revolution was based on an entirely different principle from ours. Nobility in England was a political institution composed of a limited number of persons, each of whom on his death handed on to his heir in line of primogeniture the legislative and other powers he had exercised, together with his titles. In France it was a numerous privileged caste enjoying no political power, but transmitting its fiscal and other privileges to all its male progeny, though its titles were usually settled to descend from eldest son to eldest son.

A striking difference between the nobility in the two countries was, that in England its progeny in the junior branches, to adopt a French expression, redescended into the bourgeoisie. In the most exclusive days of the British peerage, before Mr. Pitt began the democratising of the House of Lords, of which our generation has seen some startling developments, a great nobleman's grandsons, who in the eyes of the heralds of the Continental courts were by their quarterings of unimpeachably gentle quality, were in their own country simple members of the Third Estate without rank; while a successful lawyer of lowliest parentage would, if elevated to the peerage, be the social

superior of such scions of illustrious stock. Thus in England the expression "noble birth" has always been inaccurate, as no one could be nobly born in our country excepting the sole posthumous son of a peer; in other cases of succession the ennobling of the blood taking place only on the cessation of the breath of the previous holder of the peerage. At the present day it is a matter of no interest to anybody that all the sons of a duke, including even the eldest in his father's lifetime, should in legal and official documents be described as untitled commoners; but in the past that tradition has had a most important bearing on our national history. Without it an aristocratic caste would have been formed, causing the division of English society into horizontal layers, and preventing the development of the party system, which has been in the past the bulwark of our nation against the abuses of privilege, and a safeguard against revolutions resembling that of 1789.

In France, before the Revolution, all titled persons were noble, but only a portion of the nobility were titled. In some provinces few of the privileged nobles had titles; and all over the land the marquisates, baronies, and other similar distinctions were usually settled strictly according to primogeniture, the younger sons transmitting the noble name and the fiscal privileges to their progeny, but usually without any nobiliary affix, excepting the preposition *de* known as the particule. There were exceptions to this rule, and there were even then instances of persons who unduly assumed titles, amid the crowd of noble families ever increased by nomination to various offices in the realm, and also by purchase. This is, of course, only a very general view of a complicated subject which abounds

in countless details and exceptions; it is a superficial sketch which may help to explain certain social phenomena conspicuous in France more than a century after the Revolution abolished not only privilege but also titles.

Napoleon, while he maintained the first principle of the Revolution hostile to privilege, understanding human nature and recognising that men liked to be called by names which put them on a higher level than their fellow-creatures, even though they did not invest them with privileges, scattered titles broadcast, making his Marshals and Ministers, Princes and Dukes, and including in the distribution of minor honours numerous members of the old nobility who rallied to the Empire. He had not time to see the hereditary effect of his creations, but when the legitimate kings of France returned, they recognised many of the Imperial dignities and conferred others; some of them being attached to membership of the new Chamber of Peers, others being purely decorative, like our baronetcies, but all being unconnected with privilege, which was the basis of the nobility of the Old Régime.

The patents conferring titles under the Restoration limit them in line of primogeniture, but the old dynasty did not remain long enough on its recovered throne to enforce regularity or to see its ordinances carried out; and since the abdication of Charles X. in 1830 there has not been a ruler in France to whom French subjects of aristocratic pretensions have paid regard. The Faubourg St. Germain had equal scorn for Louis Philippe and for Napoleon III., and the efforts of the latter to introduce regularity in the bearing of titles had no effect.[1] The

[1] The "Loi contre l'usurpation des titres" passed in 1858 was not an honest attempt to settle this question, but rather an effort of the Imperial

Government of the Republic having acted on the fiction that under a régime of which Equality is the official principle no titles can exist, the widest scope has been given to private enterprise.

The system which the more plausible of the assumers of titles have followed is as follows. A descendant in the male line of a family noble before the Revolution is quite aware that, being the younger son of younger sons, under the Old Régime he would have borne no title without a new creation. But, if he be overscrupulous, he reasons, "Under the Ancient Monarchy I should have been noble; I should have enjoyed certain privileges; and the only modern compensation for their disappearance being a title I have the right to use one." Not one in twenty of the persons so situated takes the trouble to argue thus. A man adopts a title, which perhaps his father used irregularly before him, because his friends do likewise. The offshoots of ducal houses set an example in the democratic use of these adornments, and in some of them there are dozens of multiplying younger branches, each member of which styles himself "Comte," and transmits the same designation to all his male posterity in perpetuity. The head of one of these families, whose dukedom dated from the early days of Louis XIV., told me that his own kinsmen, in thus styling themselves, defied tradition and profited from the disorder caused by the Revolution. In

Government to obtain the favour of its Legitimist opponents who bore titles by giving them official consecration; but the law remained a dead letter, as the Royalists declined to register their titles while continuing to use them at their own discretion. The chief opponent of the measure in the Corps Législatif was M. Émile Ollivier, who afterwards rallied to the Empire, and he argued that the recognition of an hereditary nobility is contrary to the principles of the Revolution (Séance du 7 Mai, 1858).

his province, moreover, where few of the local noblesse under the old Monarchy bore titles, its authentic representatives, perceiving that others with less claim than they to nobiliary attributes assumed them, called themselves under the Third Republic counts or barons for the first time in their immemorial annals. If the ancient gentry and the cadets of once great houses are willing to take such liberties with the usages of their order, the scions of the Revolutionary nobility of the Empire naturally do likewise; while multitudes of others follow suit who can trace no connection either with the courtiers of Versailles or the magistrates of the Ancient Régime, with Napoleon's soldiers of fortune and functionaries, or with any one who has ever been granted a title by a ruler of France. It is obvious that a man who has some renown in literature or art, or even in industry, could not suddenly announce to the world that he had made himself a marquis or a baron; but, considering that any French citizen may assume a title with perfect impunity, and that its assumption in time may increase his own consideration, as well as augment the dowries he may demand for his sons when he arranges their marriages, it is surprising that any obscure people of independent means remain in France who have the self-restraint not to endow themselves with these ornamental advantages.

It is more surprising that the Government of the Republic has taken no step to curb the irregularity which it connives at by a paradoxical application of the doctrine of Equality. The fiction is that titles borne by French subjects have no existence, so to recognise them even for the purpose of limiting their use would bring them into being and infringe the principle of equality.

The Government of the Republic does, however, recognise titles. In the official lists of the Legislative Chambers a member is invested with any nobiliary rank he likes to give himself. There are also many of the diplomatic servants of the Republic who bear titles which are formally confirmed by their Government in the documents accrediting them to foreign courts. Moreover, when the President visits the provinces in state he is accompanied by functionaries of the Protocole, the power which regulates the ceremonial etiquette of the Republic, some of whom in the official account of the solemnities are formally described as noblemen. Therefore the Republic cannot repudiate its responsibility, which is grave for a reason not often recognised. The objection to the unlimited multiplication of titles at the will of the wearers is not merely a sentimental regret that a large section of the nation should bring ridicule on dignified or picturesque traditions by following the example of Italy or Spain or other countries which, even though they have sovereigns to regulate such matters, ought not to be looked to by France for social guidance. The system is objectionable on economical as well as on social grounds.

Each year it increases a section of the community which adds nothing to the resources of the country, while it debases the national standard of intelligence. This will be shown by the mention of a remarkable fact. In the very numerous class claiming nobility, whether authentic or doubtful, ancient or modern, it would be difficult to cite, at the end of the nineteenth century, the names of six men born in the latter half of it who are known to fame or are believed to show

promise.[1] The fact is the more lamentable as attractive youths of this class on leaving school, before they sink into a pitiful existence of futility, from which the profession of arms seems to be the only way of escape, often display intelligent qualities which ought to foretoken a bright and honourable future. Mgr. d'Hulst, shortly before his death, gave me his opinion on this point, on which he had exceptional knowledge, he being himself the chief of a noble Breton family, the intimate friend of the Comte de Paris, a Royalist deputy, and the head of the Catholic Institute of France. He was lamenting with some severity the position in the country of the men of good family; and being asked if it were an exaggeration to say that there were not six of them born in the last half of the century who even gave promise of brilliant achievement, the learned prelate, who was a pessimist, replied with emphasis, "You will not find three." All the young men of distinction belonging to that class are now older than Napoleon was when his career was ended. M. de Mun and his colleagues of the Academy, M. d'Haussonville and M. de Vogué, as

[1] In the army there are young officers belonging to noble families who are said to give remarkable promise, but in time of peace such military reputation is unknown to the public. It should be said that no officer in the French service, until he has passed the rank of Colonel, is permitted to use any nobiliary title, authentic or otherwise. But superior officers of distinction rarely avail themselves of the faculty, such affixes being regarded in France as of less prestige than high combatant titles. Marshal MacMahon was scarcely ever called Duc de Magenta, though he won that title on the battle-field. General Davout, in whose favour Napoleon III. revived the title conferred on his uncle by Napoleon after Jena, sometimes called himself Duc d'Auerstaedt when a General of Division under the Third Republic, and there was every reason for maintaining on the army list its glorious tradition. On the other hand, General de Galliffet let his more ancient title of Marquis fall into disuse.

well as Mgr. d'Hulst himself, were all born before the middle of the century, in the last years of the Monarchy of July, and their successors are not apparent.

It should be noted that each of these descendants of noble houses has attained his distinction under the Republic, so it is not the influence of the régime which has hindered others of the same class from doing likewise. The policy of the Republic in keeping out of the public service those suspected of noble lineage is an excuse pleaded for the useless lives of persons so disqualified; but though young men of gentle birth or pretensions may, for their reactionary opinions, have thus been prevented from earning a pittance in the huge army of functionaries, they have not been debarred from paths of renown in the liberal professions, in letters, or in science, or indeed in the career of politics. Since the death in 1882 of Gambetta, himself an example of fame made in opposition, not a single Republican office-holder has made a parliamentary reputation greater than that of M. de Mun. Of the scores of successive ministers several have adequately filled the places they have held, but not one has won political fame unattainable by an active opponent of ministries. Since the Republic was governed by Republicans, the only department of the State in which distinction has been gained is that of Foreign Affairs, wherein the employment of men of good social position has not, for obvious reasons, been discouraged. It is not true that the Republic has entirely precluded bearers of noble names from illustrating honourable pursuits. The oratory of M. de Mun is not a gift to be obtained by taking thought; but parliamentary skill and political prominence are within the reach of the resolute, while diligence is the chief and

indispensable element of literary success such as is enjoyed by the other Academicians whose names have been cited.

A republic has its home in France greater than that which rests on the Constitution of 1875. In the commonwealth of letters, distinction does not depend on the hazards of a writer's birth or on his political sentiments; and since the fall of the First Empire the literature of the century, fabricated by men of most diverse origin, has been the greatest glory of the French nation, irrespective of change of régime. The Revolution, far from being repressive in its after effects on the talents of the class which it had deposed, seemed after the reconstruction of France to encourage its sons to excel in the paths which their fathers had less often trodden in the old days of privilege. Under the Monarchy of July, when the bourgeoisie was paramount, half the brilliant names foremost in every branch of literature were claimed to be of noble origin. Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Lamennais, Rémusat, Ségur, Barante, Victor Hugo, Alfred de Musset, Tocqueville, Alfred de Vigny, Balzac, and Montalembert all were, or professed to be, members of noble families. They represent the whole range of French style and opinion in history, poetry, drama, romance, theology, and political philosophy, and each of them had made a name before attaining the age of forty.

No doubt the Monarchy of July was a period of exceptional literary splendour to which every class of society contributed, while the Third Republic is by comparison commonplace. But France continues to produce a number of admirable writers, and while the so-called noble class has increased enormously in proportion to the population, it is most rare for a writer of the first rank to claim

connection with it, no matter what his opinions or his subject. Now, if the portion of the community which displays this and many another outward sign of decadence were a small and exclusive caste, living and intermarrying apart from the world, composed of fossilised patricians isolated in the pride of their parchments, such as are sometimes found in the provinces, its condition would have no national importance. But the exponents of sterile aristocratic pretension are an expanding multitude, not suffering from stagnation of the blood which has destroyed many a genuine aristocracy. Even when they bear rightfully noble family names, they are often the offspring of several generations of alliances with the shrewd French middle-class, or with opulent foreigners of equal intelligence, notably of Jewish or American origin. Thus the peril to society lies in the fact that every year a great section of the population, increasing by the operation of the laws of nature and of human vanity, is diverted from profitable and praiseworthy pursuits, to form an idle class, without tradition, ideal, or prospects.

In the interest of the whole community the Government of the Republic ought to have interfered. Some of its partisans avow with cynicism that as the wearers of titles, whatever their origin, are Reactionaries, it has been in the interest of the Republic not to check them in courses which bring ridicule on the enemies of the established régime. This is the reasoning of opportunism rather than of statesmanship, which would not have permitted this wanton drain on the resources and intellect of France. The craving for titular distinction is a curious phase of modern democracies, and, as we have seen, the presumably meritorious, such as are invested with titles in our coun-

try, have in France to be satisfied with a ribbon, which, however, is not less an infringement of the principle of equality. But the wearing of a decoration does not perniciously influence a Frenchman in the performance of his duties to society, and indeed the hope of obtaining a higher grade may inspire him to effort: whereas the self-assumed or invented nobiliary title inspires its holder with no worthier resolve than to turn it indolently to material profit.

Only the Government of the Republic could have undertaken the serious task of regulating the assumption of titles, for it alone could with impunity offend the wearers of them, they being an anti-Republican force. If a monarchy were re-established, the sovereign, whether absolute or constitutional, would have to take every precaution to conciliate all classes of his new subjects, and he would hasten his return into private life if he began to meddle with the fancies of his most devoted adherents. An important supporter of the Comte de Paris told me that he knew several holders of palpably home-made titles, who, having offered their fealty to the pretender and their purses to his cause, had received gracious letters from Sheen or from Stowe, commencing "Mon cher Comte" or "Mon cher Marquis," and signed "Philippe." These the recipients treated as patents of nobility not less authentic than those whereby Charles IX. and Henry IV. respectively conferred the dukedoms of Thouars and of La Trémoille on the ancestor of the present titulary of those ancient fiefs.

If strength or statesmanship had been found in the governments of the Republic, it would have been easy to remedy the abuse, as in France the State exercises arbi-

trary powers in regulating the nomenclature of its citizens. A Frenchman is perpetually called upon to produce his "papers," relating to the registration of his birth, to verify his identity, and the strictest restraint is put upon the alteration of his family or baptismal names. It is a curious contrast between the habits of the two countries that while in England a man with unmusical or grotesque appellations may with faintest formality exchange them for a stately combination suggesting illustrious kinship; yet if he unduly describe himself a lord he is suspected of defrauding tradesmen or of being an escaped lunatic: whereas in France any citizen may with success make himself into a marquis or a count; though if he take upon himself to alter his civil names inscribed on his birth certificate he is subject to the sternest penalties. More than that, a French father is restricted in the choice of the names he may give his child: he may not call him by a surname, either for legitimate family reasons, or because of romantic sound, or in honour of a favourite author or politician. He may not spur his infant to ambition by naming him Voltaire or Bossuet or Robespierre or Bonaparte or Gambetta or Zola. If he wishes to endow him with a perpetual stimulus to valour or patriotism or virtue or piety, he can call him Achille or Marius or Aristide or Xavier: for the great reconstructor of France decreed that no names could be accorded to a French subject but those found in the calendars of the saints or in the history of antiquity,[1] thus also precluding fantastic parents from

[1] Loi du 11 Germinal An XI. (April, 1803). The most elaborate formalities are required for any modification in the names attributed to a French subject when his birth was registered. If he desire a change in consequence of some error then committed, the tribunals can authorise the alteration after due proof; but any other change of nomenclature can

naming their offspring after savage potentates or abstract virtues.

No one but a barbarian would wish to abolish titles, ancient or modern, which have been handed on from father to son with historic continuity, whether they took their origin in the Court of Versailles or on the battle-fields of the Empire, though the regulation of their use is of urgent expediency. Nothing of historical interest in architecture or in personal attribute should ever be destroyed in a civilised nation unless its preservation causes actual injury to human beings. At the Revolution it was as necessary to deal with the wealth of the Church as it was to take away the privileges of the nobles, both having conduced to the misery of the people; but the mutilation of noble buildings was as indefensible as the burning of parchments. The official care taken by the Republic of the Invalides at Paris, of the Cathedral at Reims, or of the Maison Carrée at Nîmes, does not commit the Government of France to the cult of the religion of the Antonines or of Clovis, or to the revival of the splendours of Louis XIV.; and the legal recognition of the ducal titles of Uzès, created the year of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, or of the princely title of Moskowa, conferred on Marshal Ney, would not make the Republic suspected of producing a Catherine de Médicis or a Napo-

only be effected by the Government after solemn petition. Not only in legal documents but in official lists a man's family name has to be inscribed as it was borne by his ancestors, even though his father before him used the modified form. Thus on the roll of the Institute M. Jules Simon was inscribed as "Jules François Simon-Suisse dit Jules Simon," and in the list of the Chamber of Deputies M. Lockroy, the kinsman of Victor Hugo, is entered as "Edouard Simon dit Lockroy, fils de Joseph Simon dit Lockroy."

leon. They are historical monuments which ought to be preserved as such.

Certain incidents inspired by an inheritor of the former title threw light on the attitude of the Republic to such relics of past régimes. The Duc d'Uzès was an amiable young man descended paternally from the line of dukes created in 1572, and from the Veuve Clicquot of genial commercial tradition by his mother, who was the most serious enemy the Republic ever had outside its own ranks, as she gave £120,000 to General Boulanger when he seemed to need nothing but funds to destroy it. The Duke in travelling to the Congo did what would have passed unnoticed in England, whence every year men of good position go to spend their holidays on adventurous journeys. When in 1893 he died by fever on the expedition, officials of the Republic outdid reactionary journalists in giving importance to the untimely ending of an unknown young nobleman, which in our country would have been dismissed with a sympathetic paragraph in the newspapers. But the event was doubly noteworthy in France, because it behooves the Government to encourage every class of its citizens when they show symptoms of a taste for voyaging, the lack of which in the nation checks the effective establishment of a colonial empire; and the case of a rich and well-born youth quitting the facile joys of the boulevards for the arduous pleasures of travel was phenomenal. At all events his death received more official notice than if he had been the son of a Republican politician. The Minister himself bore the news to the family, and at the funeral at the ancestral château in the Cevennes, a Republican officer, deputed by the Ministry to represent it, said he was "sent by the Government of

the Republic to express the unanimous sorrow of the nation for the Duc d'Uzès, who had displayed exceeding strength of character in foregoing the life of a favourite of fortune, his wealth and the splendour of his great name having already realised for him the dreams of human ambition."[1]

In these words publicly pronounced by the representative of the Government there was first the formal recognition of an ancient title, disposing of the pretended inability of the Republic to admit the existence of such an anomaly. There was then the splendour and greatness attributed to the name, not by an advocate of the privileges of the ancient court, who might justifiably use those terms in a special sense, but by the official mouthpiece of the Republic, which theoretically refuses to ascribe greatness to any contemporary name, except for the personal achievement of its bearer. But there was a still graver repudiation of the principle of equality. There was the suggestion of the idea prevalent in France, expressed sometimes in contemptuous, sometimes in respectfully envious form, to the effect that there is a class of favoured beings called, in defiance of etymology and of history, the "aristocracy," which has no other vocation or duty than the pursuit of pleasure at Paris and in the resorts of Parisians; and that should one of its members weary of a life, of which the foremost

[1] "Le Gouvernement de la République m'a chargé de vous exprimer, Madame la Duchesse, en son nom et au nom de tous les Français de cœur, les regrets unanimes de ses concitoyens de la mort de celui qui fut le Duc Jacques d'Uzès. Il fallut au défunt une grande force d'âme pour renoncer à la vie des heureux de ce monde; jouissance de la fortune, éclat d'un grand nom, tel que le rêvent les ambitieux de ce monde." — *Discours du Délégué du Gouvernement aux obsèques du Duc d'Uzès: 27 Septembre*, 1893.

exponents are often the prodigal heirs of tradesmen, he deserves to be lauded as a hero of renunciation. That demoralising idea is fostered by the perpetual increase of titled persons in France. But there are also other influences, less special in character, which have affected the upper-classes, — to use that conventional expression, the currency of the synonyms of which in the French language is another contradiction of the principle of Equality after a century of Revolution.

III

If the society which calls itself aristocratic[1] had no other faults than an exaggerated distaste for republics and for the principle of equality, it would be easy to pardon its abstention from public affairs. If its conspicuous members formed a community preserving the tradition of the Ancient Régime with prejudices softened by a perfume of old-world mellowness, one might commend them for shrinking from the mire of politics without reminding them of the Revolutionary origin of some of their fortunes, or of the unauthenticity of their titles. They might then be compared to a sacerdotal caste which guarded the disestablished temples of a once powerful cult, and preserved with such fidelity the rites of a bygone age that the onlooker did not ask for proofs of the priestly succession of all the ministers, or for the history of the trappings decking some of the altars reared again.

[1] These pages describe only one phase of existence in the French upper-classes, and in many secluded châteaux lives are led of dignified and blameless simplicity (see vol. ii. p. 354).

The more thoroughly the eighteenth century is studied, and the more closely modern French society is observed, the more clearly is it seen that the failings of the latter have no relation with the peculiar shortcomings of the Old Régime. Parisians of fashion will sometimes bewail that they are the victims of hereditary frivolity, and that if they are incapable of leading useful lives, it is because their ancestors supped at the Palais Royal or masqueraded at Trianon. Many who make this lament have in their veins little of the blood of the courtiers; but apart from the contrary fiction currently assumed, it is to be remarked that the failings of French society to-day all fall into categories not exclusively French. They are either those which have been practised in all ages and in all lands by the idle and the self-indulgent, or they are the special outcome of the civilisation of our epoch.

If we study French society in the eighteenth century from its dawn, described by St. Simon, to the Revolution, which sent Mme. de Genlis on her wanderings, each new mode and each new exponent of it can be followed month by month and year by year. The age of Memoirs is past. Like the salon, they survived the Revolution for half a hundred years, but like it they could not survive the era of railways and of plutocracy. Yet the genius of the French to catch fleeting follies, and to describe them in vivid language, is not extinct. The real personages of to-day are too insignificant to have their names recorded, excepting in the cheap press, the society they compose is too uninteresting: but they afford types for the modern penciller to seize; and when we are weary of the bright throngs which flitted through the chamber of the Duchesse du Maine, or were fêted by

the Prince de Conti, we can turn to the sprightly page of Gyp, and see what right the idlers of the present hour have to call themselves the successors of the Old Régime. The vivacious authoress who has adopted that name belongs to the class which she portrays, and she sometimes lays herself open to the charge of malice and of caricature. But the cruel truth of photography is the chief offence of that censorious literature, in which she has some talented rivals of the other sex. Indeed its subjects are hardly appropriate for the higher forms of art. A sketch by such a censor of the boulevards may be compared to an instantaneous photograph of one of those strangely packed coach-loads of fashionable Parisians, sometimes seen in the Champs Élysées on the way to the race-course at Auteuil, boisterously heralding to passers-by that the imagination of the successors of the wittiest and most brilliant society of the past can invent no happier employment for their wealth and leisure than a parody of an English pastime.

We turn from this spectacle, worthy only of the itinerant camera, to the galleries of the Louvre, where the sumptuous canvas of Van Loo displays the grace and refinement of French diversion in the past. The stately picture entitled *Une halte de chasse* represents also men and women on out-door pleasure bent; but in the eighteenth century, though there was an interchange of modes between the two nations, French wit and opulence did not parade inept imitations of British sport; and the gallant company reposing after the morning's chase would have disdained to be mere copyists of the costume or to travesty the language of our rubicund fox-hunters of the days of Walpole. The faults of French society at

that epoch were doubtless grievous, and grievously were they expiated, but it invested even its follies with a cultured ease, and with its inimitable stamp richly emblazoned a page of the history of civilisation. We know now that the light-hearted hunting-parties of Marly and Rambouillet were a generation later to end on the scaffold or in exile, but on their way thither the blithe followers of the chase compelled the envy of Europe, and in the grace of their existence and deportment offered to art and to literature material which, wrought with the skill of the age, still adds to the joy of the world. No tragedy specially awaits the modern leaders of Parisian society: for social divisions have been invented undreamed of at the Revolution, and the would-be exponents of the nobility, whose last corporate act was to decline to be fused with the Third Estate, are now by strange irony ranked as "bourgeois" by the new Revolutionaries. It is, however, a pity that the claimants of the tradition of the Old Régime should in their trivial domain of pleasure-seeking thus justify the new social classification by taking as their model the imitative plutocracies of the New World.

But the superiority of French society of the Old Régime over its degenerate successors was not merely in its faculty of inventing a style, and of impregnating the century with its savour. It did not content itself with creating a distinct school of art by offering to painters models of gracious elegance, and with furnishing to memoir-writers the sparkling conversation of a polished court, in which, no doubt, it was aided by the prestige of the royal circle from which it depended. It also displayed a quality which is attainable by the upper-

class of any society, under any régime: it took delight in the companionship of the most brilliant intellects of the time. It was the age destined to change the history of humanity; but the women and the men who dictated the fashion to Europe little recked that the social fabric which protected them was being subverted by the philosophers whom they cultivated. Thus it was in salons that the new doctrine was first rehearsed, and in châteaux one day to be sacked by its forcible application.

It was among the groves of Grandval that Diderot discussed with the Encyclopædists: it was in that famous château of M. d'Holbach that he planned his most audacious theses. It was for Mme. d'Épinay that Rousseau composed *Émile;* and in her salon, as in that of the Duc de Luxembourg, the uncouth presence of Jean-Jacques, redolent of his rustic days of privation in Savoy, was the most welcome: while Voltaire, who had passed his life in an atmosphere royal and aristocratic, was ending it at Ferney, where he held a court, and whither the noblest and most refined exponents of French society went in pilgrimage. At the moment when the Court of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette had reached its zenith of brilliancy, Arthur Young, in spite of an agriculturist's sympathy for the farmer-like qualities of his own sovereign, was not able to compare favourably the influence of the blameless George III. with that of the French king. Among his vaticinations of the approaching Revolution he observes: "Persons of the highest rank pay all attention to science and literature. I should pity the man who expected, without other advantages of a very different nature, to be well received in a brilliant circle at London because he was a fellow

of the Royal Society; but a member of the Academy of Sciences at Paris is sure of a good reception everywhere."[1]

It may be retorted that the society of the eighteenth century would have done better not to have encouraged the philosophers; and if the modern upper-class were overwhelmed by a cataclysm, it might truthfully protest that it had not provoked it by commerce with men of intellect. But it may be observed that the greatest French intelligences of our age have been anti-Revolutionary in tendency. Renan was the very type most sought after in the salons of the Old Régime, a Voltairian of aristocratic instinct; but the trifling descendants of pilgrims to Ferney, whose modern clericalism does not restrain them from paying court to Jewish financiers, disdained to cultivate the historian of the House of Israel. Pasteur, on the other hand, was a sincere Catholic, who brought more credit on his religion than all his compatriots of rank: Taine was the destroyer of the legend of the Revolution. Men so illustrious require a society more attractive than that which fashionable France can now show: but there are brilliant writers, thinkers, and artists surviving them and best representing modern French civilisation, who regret the separation of fashion from intelligence in repudiation of the tradition of the Old Régime.

The composition of the so-called aristocratic society may account for this. The majority, which has more pretension than tradition, imposes its tone. The growing crowds which bear titles of phantasy naturally seek to consecrate them by frequenting exclusively the less

[1] *Travels in France*, October, 1787.

irregular nobility. Again, the wealthy society of Paris becomes every year more cosmopolitan, and children of the Republics of the two Western continents do not colonise Europe primarily for the sake of the intellectual attractions of its capitals. Thus the increasing number of marriages with rich foreigners does not elevate the tone of Parisian society. Dowerless wedlock is not favoured in France in any class of life; and as testamentary liberty is restricted, the heads of once great families have been able to maintain a relatively high position only by wealthy marriages. But alliances with the sole heiresses of rich French families, whether noble or industrial, have usually had no demoralising effect, as they have been contracted according to the ideas of social economy cherished in the nation, and as the fortunes they have united have not been so inordinately large as to induce luxury alien to the tradition of the parent stock. It may be here remarked that the lives of Frenchwomen of the unoccupied upper-class are often in admirable contrast to those of the men. Their virtues are of the type usually attributed to the women of the bourgeoisie. They are devoted mothers, excellent housewives, and patterns of piety. The orderliness of their existence and their virile qualities counteract the undisciplined or aimless example of their husbands; and in many a household in the decorative section of society the woman is the superior, morally and mentally, of her lord. But brides from beyond the Ocean or beyond the Rhine, whether Aryan or Semitic, are apt to regard Paris as a playground, and the endowment of an indigent title as a means of entering into its pastimes. Thus the daughters of native capitalists acquire the imported idea that the

chief use of riches is to make a conspicuous figure in the world of triflers.

These observations lead us to an important point in our inquiry into the relation of modern France with the Revolution. Its latest phase, the Third Republic, has doubtless greatly modified the condition of society, as under it the separation between politics and social amenity has been complete; the failure of the Government to regulate the increasing assumption of nobiliary titles being moreover one of the outward signs of the resulting disarray. But mere negative influences such as these would not alone have so transformed the society of the capital. The change in its tone is chiefly due, not to the Revolution, but to the increased influence of wealth: to the rise of the plutocracy, and not to the fall of the Bastille. The salon survived that event for two generations; and in the second quarter of this century the social commerce of men and women in the highest circles of Paris was as brilliant, perhaps, as in the days of Mme. Geoffrin and of the Marquise du Deffant.

The keenest observers from England at that period noted the superiority of Paris over London in this respect. The chapters in *Coningsby* describing the French capital are simply passages from Mr. Disraeli's journal of 1842.[1] They refer, therefore, to the epoch fifty years after the Emigration, and during that chequered half-century society had undergone many transformations, culminating in the foundation of the anti-aristocratic Monarchy of July, then in its full prosperity. "Nothing strikes me more in this brilliant city," said Coningsby, "than the tone of its society, so much higher than our own.

[1] *Coningsby*, bk. v. c. 8: bk. vi. c. 1. *Lord Beaconsfield's Letters*, 1842.

How much conversation and how little gossip! Here all women are as agreeable as is the remarkable privilege in London of half-a-dozen. Men too, and great men, develop their minds. A great man in England, on the contrary, is generally the dullest dog in company." Lord Beaconsfield's sphinx-like silence in society in his later days may have proceeded from a desire to adopt the usages of the people he governed. At this period, however, he was often denounced, by Tories as well as by Whigs, as "un-English," and to that quality was ascribed his sympathy with things French. But if Mr. Disraeli had little of the Briton in his nature, he was still more unlike a Frenchman. In his occidental capacity he was purely English. In Paris he sat down each morning to a British breakfast-table with *Galignani* before him, and an aggressively British wife by his side. No doubt it was his cosmopolitan genius which aided him to appreciate the merits of French social intercourse; but there is unimpeachably English testimony as to the vitality of the aristocratic salon at that epoch. Henry Bulwer, in his studies on the Monarchy of the Middle-Classes, speaks of the exclusion of the nobility from politics, diplomacy, and other careers under Louis Philippe, which is complained of under the Third Republic, and adds that, "defeated in the market-place and the forum, it has entrenched itself in the salon."[1] Contemporary French memoirs, comedies, and romances, as well as the souvenirs of survivors of the period, all show that neither the Terror nor the Emigration, neither the battles of the First Empire nor the middle-class domina-

[1] *The Monarchy of the Middle-Classes*, by Henry Lytton Bulwer, Esq., M.P. (afterwards Lord Dalling), 1836.

tion of "July" had divorced the cultured class from the nobility.

Thus the salon, which survived the Revolution and the reconstruction of society, has now become extinct in an epoch of which the political and social upheavals have been relatively mild. The reason was suggested unconsciously by Disraeli in a letter to his sister describing his life in Paris. With perhaps the contempt of his race for persons with moderate incomes (which he attributed to his hero Lord Monmouth), after reciting a list of the noble persons he had met in salons containing elements most pleasing and intelligent, he exclaims: "What names, but where are the territories? There are only one hundred men in France who have £10,000 a year. Henry Hope and Rothschild could buy them all!"

The chapters of the *Esprit des Loix* on Equality[1] have had considerable influence on the social history of France, as in them Montesquieu defended the principle of equal testamentary division of property among children, which, not anticipating the Napoleonic régime, he declared could not be established in a despotic State. In that connection he says that the complement of equality is frugality; and though his speculations on the advantages of the Republican over other forms of government have been falsified in the later history of France, his remarks on that subject may be taken to heart in our generation, when the rule of wealth is upsetting most of the theories of political philosophers, and becoming so omnipotent that the social composition of the communities under its sway is more affected by it than by the régime of the State, republican or monarchical, constitutional or arbitrary.

[1] *De l'Esprit des Loix*, liv. v. c. 4, 5, 6, etc.

IV

Though the growing power of wealth is the chief destroyer of the qualities which once peculiarly distinguished Parisian society, and though it has introduced into France new social distinctions, class-feeling independently of the possession of riches has survived both the Revolution, and the subsequent working of institutions of which the tendency might be expected to promote equality. The educational system might be thought to discourage the ancient class-feeling, and to counteract its new forms in a plutocratic age, but it seems to have the contrary effect. In England, the boys of the section of society known as the upper and upper-middle classes are for the most part educated in a score or so of ancient and modern foundations, the cheapest of which is expensive from the French point of view. In France such schools are unknown. The secondary education of the country is imparted either in the Lycées of the State, or in Colleges conducted by religious Orders.[1] In neither category are there institutions set apart for the wealthy and well-born classes. Of public schools, the Collège Stanislas at Paris is the one most favoured by them. Of the 1500 boys 200 have names prefixed with the particule, signifying that they claim to be of gentle birth. Among the remaining 1300 boarders and day-boys are to be found the sons, not merely of rich business men, of judicial and political personages and of leaders of the liberal professions, but also of small tradesmen, and of other persons in relatively

[1] There are also mixed organisations like Stanislas, and municipal colleges like Chaptal, both in Paris.

humble walks of life. All the boys are treated on terms of equality, the titles of those who would seem to have right to bear them not being recognised.[1] In the schools conducted exclusively by ecclesiastics it is the same. In Brittany, where caste feeling is strong, the sons of the old Breton nobility are brought up at the Jesuit College at Vannes with the sons of the shopkeepers and peasant farmers of the Morbihan.

All this might be supposed to tend to the obliteration of class-feeling. The hourly contact and comradeship, at an age when other considerations appeal to the imagination more strongly than those of social rank; the absolute equality inculcated in the monotonous discipline; the identical mean-looking costume and the limited wardrobe prescribed for all the boys alike; the dormitory system and the absence of private quarters admitting of decoration according to a school-boy's idea of luxury; the small temptation to spend pocket-money; the promenades taken in common; and the restrictions on the free choice of friendships — in fine the whole working of the machine is calculated to turn out individuals stripped of all superstitions regarding class inequality. It probably is this very uniformity which destroys its own egalitarian object. The accident of contact is not sufficient to generate lasting sympathy. The friendships of youth, which, in spite of the vicissitudes of life, leave a durable trace on the memory and imagination of men, need to have been begun amid agree-

[1] *E.g.* in the school-lists of Stanislas the Prince de Léon (a title held by the eldest sons of the Ducs de Rohan ever since the creation of the dukedom in 1652, than which it is more ancient) is entered as J. de Rohan-Chabot, with no more distinguishing mark attached to his name than to that of the son of a notary on another page which has the *particule*.

able associations, and to have been nurtured by the sentiment called *esprit de corps*. Now though our tongue has no equivalent for that French expression, it connotes a sentiment less known in France than in England. It can scarcely be said to exist in French school-life, the feeling being so jejune that a man's most intimate friends neither know nor care where he was educated, and even the official biographies of legislators or academicians rarely give that information.[1] As for agreeable associations, a French collegian, whether he goes home to a sumptuous hôtel in the Faubourg St. Germain or to an attic in the Batignolles, whether his holidays are spent in a historic château, or in a humble farm-house, regards his Lycée as a penitentiary in which young creatures are immured to give them a greater zest for the liberty or licence of manhood. Usually the only youths who delight in their school-days are those precocious students whose sole love is learning, or the unfortunates, rare in France, whose harsh childhood has been spent in unhappy homes. The English idea of sending a boy to school to make advantageous acquaintances, which has sadly transformed the tone of our most famous foundations, never enters the head of a French parent; and a tradesman ambitious for his son does not imagine that his future social position will be improved because he has for classfellows the heirs to high-sounding titles, or the children

[1] In the volume of Biographies of the Deputies returned to the Chamber of 1893–98, most of them written in great detail, in the first seventy the schools or colleges of only two members are mentioned. The pupils of certain establishments of superior education, notably the École Normale and the École Polytechnique, are not wanting in *esprit de corps;* but among secondary schools the only Lycée which seems to inspire that sentiment is Condorcet, a day-school in Paris where there are no boarders.

of millionaire bankers.[1] It is not surprising, therefore, that universal military service, which puts on a level, during a later period of discipline, those who have been brought up in elementary schools with those who have had the advantages of secondary education, should have no effect in propagating the sentiment of social equality. Even among French officers, who are drawn from more diverse classes of the community than those of the British army, there is, in time of peace at all events, not much intimate comradeship, in the same regiment, between those who belong to different social ranks.

The uniformity of education of all classes higher than those brought up in elementary schools has one result bearing the superficial aspect of equality. While there are members of certain professions who unmistakably bear the stamp of them, it is often difficult in France even for Frenchmen to recognise, by means of a brief conversation on different topics, to which social category a man, met casually, belongs. An agreeable companion of a railway journey, who in admirable language discourses on the European situation or on art and literature, may turn out to be a person of such social surroundings that an Englishman of corresponding situation would express himself crudely on those subjects, and with unrefined pronunciation or accent. Such an experience is an example of the truth that civilisation

[1] In one very honourable way boys are sometimes sent to a Lycée to make influential acquaintances. If a parent intends his son for the "University," that is to say the profession of schoolmaster, he sends him to a Lycée having a distinguished professorial staff, in order that he may early attract the notice, if he show promise, of those who will later be his chiefs and colleagues. But that motive has nothing to do with the question of social gradation. Girls of the bourgeoisie are, however, sometimes sent to fashionable convents for the sake of social advantages.

descends lower in the French nation than in ours. On the other hand, Frenchmen of highest social rank take pains to assert that they stand lower in the scale of civilised humanity than Englishmen of the corresponding class, by insisting that the more nearly they approach in exterior attributes the British model the more nearly do they attain perfection — imitation being a sign of inferiority. This is not the place to study the philosophy of Anglomania, which, as practised in the upper circles of Paris, is in my opinion much to be deplored. Here we are treating of class distinction; so all that need be said on the subject is, that since the disappearance of the last members of the noblesse brought up under the Restoration with the survivors of the Emigration, who retained the irretrievable savour of the Old Régime, a French gentleman of fashionable pretension usually assumes no other perceptible attributes to distinguish him from his less favoured countrymen than the use of English clothes and English phrases in the pursuit of English pastimes.

The permeation of civilisation to a level in France lower than in other communities, is a gratifying feature of the national life. The country tradesman or the village postmaster often reveals in his unstudied speech the urbanity of good breeding, and cottagers sometimes astonish strangers with their charm of manner. No doubt there are regions of France where the peasants are boorish, and their personal habits unattractive; but, on the whole, their civilisation is remarkable. Their stores of household linen, their excellent cooking, the propriety of their attire, though not universal, exist as signs of the force of the French race which resists the

disorderliness of its governors. At nightfall the traveller who passes through remote villages sometimes sees through the open cottage door the evening meal neatly laid with a comfort unknown in middle-class houses in other civilised lands. If he visits a rural mining district, which, from the language of the deputies who represent it at Paris, and of their journals, he might believe was peopled by anarchical savages, he will not find a population given to brutal diversion or to intemperance; but if he enters the humble abode of a collier or of an ironworker, he may perhaps see him, surrounded by his family, taking his dinner served with accessories only found at the tables of the rich in other countries.

No doubt there is another side to the picture, and the daily life of the French nation abounds in scenes as unpleasing as any to be found in other modern communities. If a writer sets to work, like M. Zola, to prove that labourers or miners or shopmen are sometimes revolting in their lives, it is easy to gather testimony in support. But his inductive method is as unscientific and as misleading as that of less eminent French writers, who, by collating reports of English tribunals, seek to show that the English are a nation of profligate hypocrites. Some of the work of M. Zola deserves a high rank in the contemporary literature of Europe; but even though he has never set down a single incident without documentary evidence, he has none the less slandered his countrymen in his compilations. More than that, the humble French people whom he holds up to horror in *Germinal* and *La Terre* are, considering their arduous disadvantages, relatively much more civilised than the class to which M.

Zola belongs. For the points on which the civilisation of the French provokes most criticism are those displayed not by the poor alone, but by the whole nation. For example, in appliances of sanitation, now much improved in France, the dwellings of the rich were until late years as defective as those of the humble. On another point of civilisation there has been decided deterioration under the Third Republic. Public decency is less respected in France than at any time since the Directory; but for the coarse indecorum of the music-halls, and the impropriety of a portion of the press, the peasants and working people are not responsible; and until a government arises strong enough to suppress licence, the profession of which M. Zola is a hierophant might, if it pleased, execute the civilising task.

In spite of the naturalist school, the traveller in France may believe his own eyes and ears when the modest shopkeeper in the Vendée, or the villager in the Berry, gives him unstudied display of the descent of civilisation to low social strata in France. There are French theorists who pretend that its permeation among the humble is the result of the Revolution; but that suggestion is both uncomplimentary to the French race, and untrue. When, one may ask, did the Revolution work on the lowly its civilising mission? Was it when the *tricoteuses* took their infants to see men and women hurried to the guillotine? Was it when Napoleon was making of France a nation of widows and orphans? Under the Restoration and the succeeding régimes, no doubt, increased well-being did elevate the condition of the working classes, but the Revolution had only indirectly to do with those periods; and if the Third Republic be accounted the immediate

inheritor of its tradition, it is to be feared that under it, in spite of the spread of education and of other advantages, the old urbanity and refinement of the race have suffered detriment.

The civilisation of France, of which traces are found in all classes of society, is an heritage of the ages, and its possession accounts for the good use to which Frenchmen of modest origin can put the advantages of a diffused education. The Republic has not been a régime to employ, in places of prominence, the worthiest specimens of the nation; but Ministers and other conspicuous representatives of the Government, though not endowed with the genius which outweighs defects of training, have often filled the high posts conferred on them without the awkwardness which in other countries sometimes characterises men who have risen. Some of those who thus ascend from humble ranks are political apostles of Equality, but in practice they define it according to the conception of it noted at the outset of our inquiry. It is a virtue which prevents a right-minded Republican from acknowledging a superior, while not diminishing his right to exact due deference from his inferiors. It is not only the public servants of the democracy who enjoy the obeisance of their subordinates. A Parisian tradesman who talks to his customers, whatever their rank, with gracious and familiar ease, would, on returning to his fireside, be scandalised if his domestics addressed him in the second person, as a servant would speak to his master in England, where equality is not an official doctrine. Flaubert, who was a keen observer of the foibles of his nation, noted the pleasure which thrilled his socially ambitious heroine of the lower middle-class when she

thus heard herself addressed in the third person; and under the Republic the practice has not been interfered with.

There is one institution which, in its actual form, may be said to have been handed down from the Revolution as a symbol of the great principle that men should consider themselves equal with persons of higher social rank than they. The ridiculous aspect of the modern duel is a fertile theme for French wits, but little heed has been taken of its egalitarian character, though that has hindered ridicule from putting an end to it. Before the Revolution the duel in France, as in other countries, was a method of settling quarrels usually confined to gentlemen having the right to bear arms; and a bitter grievance of the roturier was that in no case could he call out a noble. One of the fiercest regicides of the Convention was Lacroix, the champion of Marat, who finally went to the guillotine in the same cart with Camille Desmoulins, whose doctrine of Equality we know. An incident of his youth ever rankled in his heart. One night, before the Bastille fell, when coming out of a theatre he was hustled by a gentleman, who, on his expostulating, replied, "Who are you?" The young provincial recited his name and qualities, when the other interrupted, "I am glad to hear you are all that: I am the Comte de Chabannes, and in a great hurry." The most sceptical as to the benefits of the French Revolution cannot deny that it put an end to this particular hardship; for at the present day in France a country lawyer, insulted by an ill-bred person, no matter what his rank, has the right to be killed by him the next day without the slightest penalty being inflicted on his slayer.

Yet though the lawyer and the politician may, thanks to the Revolution, demand satisfaction of men of highest social pretension, they will not accord it to persons of rank which they consider humbler than theirs. A journalist who has a casual altercation in the street with a man whose birth and fortune are far superior to his, claims the right to challenge such a one to combat; but if he in turn insulted a cabman in the same place, he would scorn the driver's threat to send his seconds, even though he were the owner of the vehicle and so not under menial disability; moreover, though both were of precisely the same social origin, both sons of peasants, the penman would to the coachman adopt the tone with which M. de Chabannes turned the young Lacroix into a malign apostle of the doctrine of equality. Now I would not venture to criticise this code of honour. To cross swords or exchange bullets with a politician or a journalist, whatever his antecedents or repute, may be a chivalrous survival of the ages of romance; while to meet in combat a person of similar origin who gains an honest livelihood by manual toil may be undignified. But while recognising the delicate distinction, one may submit that, as an application of the principle of Equality, it is conventional and inconsistent.

A senator of the Third Republic, M. Victor Schoelcher, to the end of his long life, which began under the Consulate, was, according to current anecdote, the type of the Republican regarding himself as the equal of the highest in the land, but disdainful to his inferiors. In his young days he applied somewhat inconveniently the duelling privilege of equality won by the Revolution, for, serving in his father's shop in the rue Drouot, he

used to challenge customers who perversely carped at the price of the wares. The spirit which moved this son of the Revolution, whom Napoleon III. exiled for his republicanism, is said sometimes to animate the whole body of Republican senators and deputies, who are not always eager to extend to humbler citizens advantages which they secure for themselves. In some respects the interests of the democracy are better looked after by our Imperial Parliament than under the French régime of Equality. The contrast between the favour shown to third-class passengers on railways in monarchical England, and the penalty of miserable travel inflicted upon them in republican France, is most significant, as there the Government has infinitely greater powers of pressure on the companies than has ours. But the poor traveller in the land of equality has to loiter with the discomfort of fifty years ago, while the privileged rich enjoy the luxury of swiftness. One reason may be that all legislators have first-class passes to travel on all the railways of France.[1] The theory that a Member of Parliament ought not to incur expense in travelling the 30 or the 300 miles between his constituency and the capital, does not seem to justify his right to journey gratuitously on the 30,000 miles of the French railway system. Hence

[1] Ten francs a month are deducted from the salary of each senator and deputy to pay for the passes. The dependence of the railways on the Government, partly owing to the state guarantee of interest, is such that the President of the Republic on his journeys through France travels at the expense, not of the State (a practice which would be intelligible), but of the Companies of the lines over which his fancy leads him; and on his official tours his gratuitously carried suite includes forty or fifty journalists to record his words, deeds, and diet. It is needless to say that the Queen of England travelling on the railways of her realm pays for her journeys like any of her subjects.

less favoured advocates of equality enviously point to the spectacle of Socialist deputies, after the fatigue of promoting a strike in the foggy North, speeding to the Mediterranean in costless ease to recruit their forces.

The mention of the Socialists may suggest the remark that nothing has been said here of the one party in the State which has equality of condition for its cardinal principle. French Socialism at the end of the nineteenth century is a phenomenon of high importance, which will be examined in later portions of this work. But it has little to do with this section, treating of the relations of modern France with the Revolution, for its theories are utterly at variance with the doctrine of 1789. No doubt there are passages of Rousseau which argue that private property cannot exist, and that its possessors are only depositaries of public wealth. It is also true that the first practical result of the Revolution was anarchy, which took the form of an insurrection against property. But the recognition of individual proprietorship was one of the fundamental bases of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and throughout the Revolution, in its philosophic stage, in its moments of greatest horror, as well as in its reactionary and reconstructive phases, the principle was respected. Indeed, one reason why the tenets of collectivism and of State Socialism, with their egalitarian tendency, make less progress in France than in England among the prosperous classes is that the French bourgeoisie is deeply imbued with the individualism of the great Revolution.

CHAPTER IV

FRATERNITY AND PATRIOTISM

I

From documents of the Revolutionary period it would seem that the word Fraternity was not made an integral part of the device of the First Republic until the year of the Terror. Previous to that phase of the brotherhood of mankind the new reformers sometimes enunciated Liberty and Equality without their complementary virtue.[1] Although the practice of the two former has been, as we have seen, peculiar in France since the Revolution, they have not been affected by it to the same extent as has been the principle of Fraternity. Prince Metternich, who was reaching manhood when the French Republic erected the guillotine as the symbol of brotherly love, said in later life, after his varied visits to Paris, "Fraternity as it is practised in France has led me to the conclusion that if I had a brother I would call him my cousin."

[1] The device of "Liberty and Equality" seems to be originally due to Montesquieu, who wrote from England in 1729, sixty years before the Revolution, *À Londres Liberté et Égalité*. The coat-of-arms of the museum at Bordeaux, engraved in 1783, bears the motto *Liberté-Égalité*, no doubt in honour of Montesquieu the great glory of the Bordelais. Thus *Fraternité* alone of the three national virtues owes its legend entirely to the Revolution.

The sarcasm of the Austrian diplomatist, like every generalisation applied to the French, requires careful qualification. In their private and domestic capacity there are no people in the world so devoted and considerate to one another. In all the relations of the human race which concern the home and the family they set an example to us. The love for a mother is not the life-long religion of an Englishman as it is of a Frenchman: the affection is mutual, and the tenderness of the French of all classes for their offspring is perhaps so excessive as to be injurious to the robustness of the race. But one result is that the local tribunals have rarely in France to try an offence corresponding to that which in England is known as leaving parents chargeable to the parish. Nor has the French language a technical equivalent for the term "wife-beating," and if Frenchmen sometimes widow themselves by swifter means, they are as a rule the most humane of husbands.

The French, again, are capable of making sentimental sacrifices for the benefit of oppressed nationalities. Under the Monarchy of July and the Second Empire they would have gladly taken up arms to succour Poland. The ills they suffered in the war with Prussia have had a too overwhelming effect to allow them to think much of the grievances of other peoples. Nevertheless we have seen the Foreign Minister who has done most credit to the Republic narrowly escape rejection at the Académie Française, because he was deemed to have neglected the plaint of Greece at the bidding of Russia. With the exception of the curious relations between the Muscovite Autocracy and the Republic, the attitude of the French towards great powers has at the end of the century presented no

abnormal features. The rivalries of war and of peace have naturally affected the French in their feelings towards several of their neighbours in Europe; and at an epoch when the fraternal effusions of peoples are trammelled by their bristling coats of armour it is pertinent to ask which is the nationality whose members Frenchmen regard with most asperity.

Are they the Germans across the Rhine? The memory of the invader marching in triumph through Paris, after making himself Emperor in the palace of Louis XIV. by right of victory over France, galls those who saw those days of sorrow. But a generation has arisen to which Alsace-Lorraine is a sad tradition only by reason of the black patch on the school-maps blurring the Eastern frontier; so in the fancy of young France the Prussian may perhaps one day be transformed, as has been the Cossack of the previous invasion. Are they the Italians, who, unmindful of Solferino, have inspired their Gallic kindred with resentment which, in regions whither the Piedmontese troop over the Alps to compete with French wage-earners, is keener against these industrial rivals of Latin race than against the more distant Teutons? Are they the English, whom politicians of the boulevards hold up to enmity as bitter as that provoked by Italians in Provence and by Germans in the Vosges? There is a nation to the members of which Frenchmen are more revengeful than to Germans, more irascible than to Italians, more unjust than to English. It is to the French that Frenchmen display animosity more savage, more incessant, and more inequitable than to people of any other race.

An Englishman reads in a Parisian journal an insinuation against his nation so virulent that he fumes with

indignation at the currency of such a libel in the press of a friendly country. He may calm his ruffled feelings, for the next page is full of slanders more outrageous, aimed at Frenchmen who differ from the writers on a point of politics. Or he sees exposed for sale in Paris a caricature lampooning the British race; but close by are a dozen others more coarsely defaming French public men, not sparing even the Chief of the State. Or a Prince of the House of France, turned journalist, to win applause maligns the English, who reflect that though Frenchmen in general are under no obligation to England there is one French family not in that case. But there is no need to be sore at Prince Henri's forgetfulness that when France bid the Orleans begone we lodged them in our palaces, or when again their chiefs were exiled we let them use our country for their plots against a government at peace with us. For, to prove that a Frenchman ungracious to foreigners is doubly malevolent to compatriots, when in the wilds of Africa he fell out with a long-tried travelling companion, the enterprising prince took care to advertise to Europe the domestic spectacle which French explorers were giving to the natives.

The peculiar harshness of Frenchmen to Frenchmen in their political capacity dates from the Revolution. Before that epoch the intolerance of the Church, the despotism of the Crown, and the oppressive privileges of the nobility were merely forms of evils found in various degrees in all countries. But while other nations have gradually softened their internal rigours, France has substituted new asperities for those of the Old Régime. This may be traced to the Jacobin conquest of the Revolution. The lawyers and rhetoricians who then held

France in their blood-stained hands were, some of them, in committing enormities, of perfectly good faith. But they had steeped themselves in the theories of the Contrat Social, the sophisms of a Swiss sentimentalist, native of a community which never enjoyed unity of language or of race, nor indeed any qualifications of a nation, save those which are artificial and fortuitous. So henceforth their fellow-countrymen were to merit consideration only in so far as they accepted doctrines applicable to all mankind. Frenchmen were not to be regarded as the natives of French towns and villages, peopling the streets and tilling the fields of France: they were members of the human race, who must, however, be put outside the pale of humanity unless they accepted the social doctrines crudely believed by these superficial theorists.

The genesis of the cruelty of modern Frenchmen to Frenchmen is curious to study, as it belongs to the same period as the growth of the modern conception of patriotism in France, which is based on an entirely contrary idea. As has been maintained in these pages, it was the discipline of war which saved the Revolution from degenerating into an orgy of primitive barbarism. "We will make a cemetery of France," said the atrocious Carrier, "rather than not regenerate it after our own fashion." While, however, he was drowning at Nantes French people — men, women, and children — with obscene tortures, which he boasted to the Convention were inflicted in the name of humanity, Bonaparte was pointing his cannon against the foreign invader, and opening the way for his transformation of the character of the Revolution. It was then that Marie-Joseph Chénier celebrated in song the "Reprise de Toulon," and a few

months later composed the famous "Chant du Départ," a poem interesting to peruse, as its spirited stanzas are animated by the conflicting sentiments which inspired the movements of the Revolution — animosity against certain categories of Frenchmen, and opposition to the alien foe.

Whenever Frenchmen at the end of the nineteenth century are moved to belabour one another in the discussion of public questions, their mutual malevolence cannot of course be ascribed to the direct influence of the humanitarian philosophy which preceded, or to the violence which accompanied, the Revolution. When, for example, in the quarrel just mentioned between French explorers, the elder declared that his high-born compatriot was a creature not superior to his Abyssinian negro, this was only by accident an exposition of the doctrine of Rousseau.[1] So when a Republican journalist, wishing to disparage a minister of the Republic, charges him with once having followed a degrading trade, or with having committed offences which, if brought to justice, would be tried with closed doors, the resemblance in sound of his language to the scurrility of Marat in the *Ami du Peuple* is unstudied. But in these and similar cases the bitterness of Frenchmen for Frenchmen may be traced to the period when the principle of Fraternity was officially enunciated, and when French people acquired the habit, never since lost, of regarding all political controversy as a desperate struggle between irreconcilable elements, in which every lethal weapon was lawful to use, and all ties of racial kinship were to be ignored.

We need only refer to the cruel annals of the Revolu-

[1] *Figaro*, March 29, 1897.

tion when they illustrate a phenomenon of the present day; for ever since Napoleon ceased to direct French ardour against the foreign foe, the century has presented a series of blood-stained pictures, of which the subject is the slaying of Frenchmen by Frenchmen as an incident of political divergency. M. Emmanuel Arago, who lived to be an Ambassador of the Republic in the last decade of the century, was the son of the great astronomer, and passed his childhood at the Observatory near the garden of the Luxembourg. There his earliest emotion was hearing the sound of musketry on a winter's morning, when Marshal Ney was shot by French soldiers, after leading to victory the armies of France with sublime courage for twenty-five years before his forlorn heroism at Waterloo. The aged diplomatist had many a similar reminiscence of the history of his countrymen. The White Terror in the provinces exceeded in ruthless destruction of French lives the executions in the capital of warriors of the Empire. The government of the Restoration, under which French people were thus put to death, itself came to a violent end in the Three Glorious Days of July; and a lofty column, where the Bastille once stood, now commemorates how Frenchmen died wholesale by French hands on that felicitous occasion. When the nation wearied of Louis Philippe, who derived the chief profit from the Revolution of 1830, it got rid of him with less bloodshed than attended his accession, only a score or two of French corpses strewing the streets to mark the end of his dynasty. Four months later new proof was shown that for the mutual slaughter of the people of France no régime was more favourable than a Republic, when in the Days of June, 1848, five thousand Parisians were despatched by their

compatriots. After that the cannon and the rifles with which Louis Napoleon cleared the boulevards of his unsympathetic fellow-citizens in December, 1851, may be deemed to have merely fired the customary salute wherewith new methods of government are announced in France.

Warfare, even in its civilised guise, brings out all the evil passions of human nature. *Homo homini lupus* is as true in our day as when the nations of Europe were semi-barbarous tribes. But most modern peoples reserve the latent savagery within them for the chastisement of their enemies abroad; whereas the French show themselves most inhuman in fratricidal strife, as though to substitute for the old aphorism a new version, *Gallus Gallo lupus*. In time of war the French show generosity to foreign foes, but when Gaul meets Gaul, quarter is neither given nor expected. Thus the conflict between France and Prussia in 1870, desperate as it was, was not stained by deeds of truculence. But when the Germans were resting after their victory on the heights around Paris, Parisians, to show them that a triumphant invader did not stand deepest in their hate, made a bonfire of the noblest monuments of their capital as a spectacle for the conqueror, and amid its fumes massacred venerable and peaceful citizens of France. The insurrection of the Commune was one of the blackest crimes known to history, and merited the sternest retribution; but its wickedness would have been a more salutary lesson for future generations had it been punished with less retaliatory ferocity. The dire occasion did not admit of judicial calmness; the infamy of the provocation offered by the insurgents was unparalleled; nevertheless the soberest narrative of the suppression of

the rebellion convinces that Frenchmen meted out to Frenchmen penalty so ruthless, so exuberant, and so indiscriminate that other Europeans in modern warfare only inflict the like on barbaric races. The cruelty of the Communards to their fellow-citizens was as dastardly as that of the Sepoys to the British at Cawnpore: the punishment inflicted by the Versailles troops on the Parisians during the *Semaine de Mai* was as merciless as that with which the English in India had to stamp out the Mutiny.

It might be urged that Civil War, being fratricidal, calls forth inhuman passions, only that a few years earlier the War of Secession in America had shown that there are modern peoples which can engage in bitter internecine conflict unaggravated by cruelty. As the French do not thus conduct their civil conflicts, the events of May, 1871, ought to have taught them to forget, save as a warning, every occasion on which French blood has been shed by French hands. That, however, was not the tradition inculcated on the children born amid the carnage exhibited to the complacent Germans, who had not left so many French corpses at Gravelotte, or even at Sedan, as fell by French hands during the epilogue to their victories. That generation grew up to keep as the national holiday the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, which, if a triumph for liberty, was also the occasion of the slaughter of Frenchmen by Frenchmen. There were great days in 1789, unstained with French blood, which the nation might have joined to celebrate. The Oath in the Tennis Court at Versailles on the 20th of June, and the Declaration of the Rights of Man on the 20th of August, are dates as fitting for popular festival as the 14th of July, and are unsullied with the death of a single

French citizen. But when the centenary of the Revolution arrived, it was clear that its apostles were imbued with its relentless spirit, for they clamoured for commemoration of more days on which French had slain French. Pressure was put upon the Government, on August 10, 1892, to fête the Sack of the Tuileries; and a few weeks later, when the Municipal Council of Paris celebrated the centenary of the formal abolition of Royalty, little disguise was made that the rejoicings were in honour of the Massacres of September, 1792. A statue was decreed for Danton. It stands between the site of the Abbaye, where the carnage began, and the École de Médecine, where the science of saving life is now taught. The irony of the locality was unnoticed amid the debate aroused as to Danton's responsibility for the Massacres in the Prisons. It clearly showed that whatever his real share in them, his admirers would not have wished to honour him in bronze had they not firmly believed that he abetted the butchery of the thousand French men, women, and children who died with the Princesse de Lamballe. Any doubt about it was dissipated five years later when the same municipality proposed a statue for Marat, who represented no principles in the Revolution but those of delation and of murder of French people.

A curious fact, which perhaps proves the superior happiness of our domestic history rather than the superiority of the British temperament, is, that while the French perpetuate their internal strife by celebrating the days on which they shed the blood of their compatriots, the historical anniversaries which we have kept as holidays commemorated the saving of English lives, and not their extinction. There was Royal Oak Day, in honor of the

preservation of the not very valuable life of Charles II. at Boscobel, and there was the Fifth of November, which solemnised the escape from Gunpowder Plot of the Houses of Parliament. With regard to the latter festival, however, it may be open to doubt if in any modern community the deliverance from destruction of its legislative bodies would now be deemed a benefit sufficiently precious to justify its inscription in a ferial calendar.

The unbrotherly tradition of the Revolution has entered into the domain of art, which ought not needlessly to be disfigured with images of fratricide. The French have reason to be proud of the gallery of the Luxembourg, where, in an age barren of art in many lands, France is seen to be still the nursery of artistic instinct, an element which keeps it, in spite of its politicians, in the front rank of nations. Many of the canvases there of contemporary painters inspire patriotism as well as admiration: Detaille's stirring war scenes; Bonnat's glowing effigy of Cardinal Lavigerie, the foremost of French colonists; Jules Breton's peasants, the solid basis of French prosperity. But there is one conspicuous picture of which the casual visitor, whether native or alien, can perceive only the horror. It represents an agonised little boy in cavalry uniform, unhorsed and stabbed to death by men armed with bayonets and pikes. It bears no explanatory inscription, and all that is manifest from the costumes is that three stalwart Frenchmen are slaughtering a defenceless French child. That, indeed, is the subject chosen by the artist to hand down to future ages. The painting delineates the legendary death in the Vendean War of the young Barra, whose name occurs in the *Chant du Départ*, as he was said to have been killed by the Royal-

ists for crying "Vive la République." The legend is as impossible to substantiate as the more heroic tale of the son of Lucien Casa-Bianca, deputy for Corsica in the Convention, who perished five years later at Aboukir; but if it were as edifying as that of the victim of the explosion on the *Orient*, there would be no harm in perpetuating it. It is, however, a story, the currency of which falsifies history, for the presumable purpose of proclaiming that the murder of children by Frenchmen is a normal incident of French civil disturbance.

The calumny in this case is so unjust that a stranger may be allowed to challenge it. In all the blood-stained record of the Revolution even Revolutionary authorities recognise the humane conduct of the Vendeans in defending their hearths and altars, till the diabolical cruelty of Westermann's Infernal Column, and of other Republican forces, provoked reprisals.[1] If, therefore, it could be authentically proved that young Barra's death took place as described in Revolutionary poetry, it would still be an

[1] *E.g.* Mme. de Staël, *Considérations sur la Révolution Française*, partie 3, c. xvii. As to the cruelty of the Republicans to the Vendeans, there is no lack of Republican evidence. In an *Adresse du comité de surveillance révolutionnaire de Fontenay-le-Peuple à la Convention*, the following report was made on the conduct of a Republican chief in that picturesque town, which has since regained its pre-Revolutionary name of Fontenay-le-Comte: "We see him every day catching any children he happens to meet, whether their parents are Republicans or Brigands. [It was thus that the Republicans called the Royalists of the West.] He seizes them by one leg and slices them in two, just like a butcher splitting up a sheep." Marceau himself, after helping to win the battle of Le Mans in 1793 over the Vendeans, wrote to his sister, declining her congratulations on the victory, because, he said, his laurels were stained with the blood of his countrymen. The outrages on the vanquished in that battle were extended pitilessly to women, as related by a less dispassionate authority, Amédée de Bejarry, son of the Vendean leader, in his *Souvenirs*, published at Nantes in 1860.

exceptional incident not characteristic of the Vendean war. Thus, a picture like this is a wanton presentment of French cruelty to the French. The authorities who exposed it seem to have reasoned that the public which came there consisted largely of foreigners who had an idea that the atrocities which stain the domestic history of France, from the Terror to the Commune, were chiefly the work of Revolutionaries; that they had vaguely heard of the young and the aged being done to death in the name of Fraternity, from the boys and girls butchered at Bicêtre in the massacres of September, 1792, to Archbishop Darboy shot in 1871; it was therefore necessary to advertise the fact that savagery of this kind was not confined to one party in the State, but that *Gallus Gallo lupus* was a general proposition applicable to the whole race. Otherwise, why should a noble gallery be defaced with the delineation of a cowardly crime of Frenchmen based on a mere legend? It is not as though the Revolutionary period were not abundant in incidents worthy to inspire the patriotic genius of artists, as testify a hundred famous canvases, such as "Rouget de Lisle singing the Marseillaise at Strasbourg," by Pils, at the Louvre; the "Enrolment of the Volunteers of 1792," by Couder, at Versailles; to say nothing of the series of military scenes by Gros, who was with Bonaparte in the Army of Italy, and by Carle Vernet, who handed on the graphic gifts of his family to his son Horace, born the year of the Revolution. Or if modern Republican art sought a praiseworthy subject from the pitiful annals of the Vendean campaign, it might depict the humanity of Marceau, who, when he died at twenty-seven a General of five years' standing, unlike his colleagues in the war against the Royalists of

the West, left a memory unsullied by cruelty to his fellow-countrymen.

The perpetuation of such legends in pictorial art is only a symptom of the unfraternal tradition which the Revolution rooted in France, and is not a powerful influence to diffuse it. The tone of the press, however, shows how wide-spread is the evil of which it is a disseminating agency. The *Journal des Débats* and the *Temps*, which both support the principles of 1789, are unsurpassed in Europe for the propriety and moderation of their domestic polemics. In certain other organs political articles sometimes appear signed by pens as refined as they are eloquent. But in the cheap journals of widest circulation, controversy is usually conducted in gross language, laden with base allusions to opponents. A stranger travelling in France, who, setting out from Paris, buys at the station an armful of morning papers, might gather from their perusal, before the express train has made its first halt, that the population of the land through which he is speeding is wholly composed of the ignoble and the fatuous, who spend their lives in rancorous strife, for which the cure is known only to the sole saviours of society, the raging prophets of the press and the tribune. The traveller, confused with crude epithets not found in the dictionary of the French Academy, would do well to raise his eyes from the envenomed sheet. Superficial though the view of the country be from the window of a railway carriage, he will discern things belying the infuriate print before he reaches the noble spires of Chartres, or Orleans with its memories of Frenchmen united against a foe from the days of Joan of Arc to the campaign of the Loire in 1870, or Rouen,

where two sublime minsters tower above the busy factory smoke; cities whose associations of patriotic defence, of worship, and of industry take the imagination away from the sordid brawl of politics. He will see the peasant at work in the cornfields of the Beauce or in the pastures of Normandy; or if it be a Sunday, he will catch a glimpse of villagers making holiday, blithe, sociable, and sober. No doubt the lives of all these people at work or at play are not of ideal amenity, and human passion is troublous in the provinces as well as in the agitated capital. At the same time, they are for the most part indifferent to political contention, and at the end of the century, of which one of the boasted triumphs is a cheap press, it has to be avowed that a most salutary feature of national life in France is that a large proportion of the people of all classes never read the newspapers.

It is not my intention to quote any of the appalling terms which, applied by politicians to one another, meet the eye perusing a journal in search of news, or to give examples of the infamous charges brought against opponents as a daily incident of political controversy. All that shall be noted here is one lamentable effect of the discussion of public topics, — a heartless callousness before personal affliction, or even mortal bereavement. Sickness and death in France usually bring forth the tenderest of human sentiments, and move mere spectators of sorrow to express compassion. The popular political press is above such sentimentality, and it is not only Republicans who are thus cruel to Monarchists, or Reactionaries to Radicals; so inherent has cruelty grown in all French polemics that a temporary divergency will bring down upon a former friend rancour which would be excessive to pour upon a lifelong enemy.

The *Libre Parole*, primarily an anti-Semitic organ, professes devotion to the Church, and is one of the few Parisian journals read by the country clergy. Its editor, M. Drumont, whose writings on uncontroversial subjects show that a literary talent of great charm has been sacrificed to the furies of polemical journalism, attacks indiscriminately all who differ from him. No Frenchman has more claim on the respect of Catholics than M. de Mun, but he supported the Government of the Republic in certain legislation, provoked by the outrages of anarchists, which was not agreeable to M. Drumont; and soon afterwards, being stricken with illness which seemed beyond cure, this is what the rural priests read of their most devoted defender from a Catholic pen: "God has heard our complaints and has sternly smitten De Mun; He has said to him, 'I gave thee eloquence, and thou hast kept silence when men were waiting to salute thee as the champion of justice. Thou shalt never speak again.'"[1] M. de Mun's lips happily recovered their eloquence, which was crowned with the highest honour France has to confer on a Frenchman. Just two years[2] after the utterance of this savage blast of fanaticism he was elected to the Academy in succession to M. Jules Simon, who in good taste, tolerance and amenity had illustrated the craft of journalism.

In the latter days of that veteran, who had fought in many a political field, it was a pleasure to turn to his genial contributions to the press. They demonstrated a fact which modern French journalists and politicians should take to heart, that their flexible native language as a weapon of attack is more formidable when manipulated with grace and irony than when it is used as an

[1] *Libre Parole*, 6 Avril, 1895. [2] April 1, 1897.

instrument of barbarous warfare to bludgeon or to rip up an adversary. To exult or to gibe over an open grave is assuredly worthier of a savage tribe than of the French nation, which in its domestic life has an exemplary cult for the quiet dead. The death of M. Carnot, doing his duty as a dignified Chief of the State, moved Europe to tears, yet on the day of his burial M. de Cassagnac hailed the funeral procession with sneers, and, with audacity ill-placed in a Bonapartist, said that the Church of Notre Dame, where Napoleon had publicly flouted the Vicar of Christ, was desecrated by the solemn obsequies sung over the remains of the murdered President.[1] If Catholics are unfeeling in the presence of death, more reverent charity need not be expected from professors of irreligion; so when a pious priest of the diocese of Paris was slain by a mad woman the organ of the Socialists suggested a base reason for the crime, though the victim was an example of self-denial and ascetic devotion, being a rare instance of a Frenchman of high birth in the orders of the secular clergy.[2] But while the humblest workman in France salutes the lifeless body of a stranger borne past him to the tomb, this is not the practice of politicians before the remains of those whose opinions they dislike, and even in the bosom of the Republican family like unseemliness is displayed. When M. Jules Ferry died, on the morrow of his election to a post which requited his long exclusion from office, it was not the priests and nuns, persecuted by him in the days of his power, who made signs of joy. It

[1] *Autorité*, 1–2 Juillet, 1894.

[2] *Petite République*, 13 Mai, 1895, — on the murder of the Abbé Prince Paul de Broglie, brother of the Duc de Broglie, and grandson of Mme. de Staël.

was the anti-clerical Radicals who most loudly exulted, and one of them, M. Clovis Hugues, a poet in his hours, thus celebrated the event in crudest prose: "Yesterday all-powerful, to-day Jules Ferry is but a corpse which the people have the right to execrate, and to-morrow the worms will eat him just as he had us eaten up by the Versailles troops in 1871."[1]

It was thus that the Carmagnole was joyfully danced and sung in Paris during the Massacres of September, 1792. The song and the dance went on all through the Terror, and the chief effect of the Revolution on the national temperament would have been to make Frenchmen rejoice at the woes of Frenchmen, had not the foreign invader imposed on them the wholesome discipline of war. Consequently out of the same violent movement which has left a heritage of hate and strife to the nation came the modern idea of patriotism in France, which is a sentiment both generous and sincere. Its existence side by side with internecine dissension, which after a century shows little sign of abating, is one of the many paradoxes encountered in the study of French character, and is a result of the abnormal nature of the great upheaval.

II

The French form of the word patriot is not in its familiar sense of ancient usage. St. Simon thus applied it to Vauban, but previously it was a synonym of com-

[1] Twenty-second anniversary of the Commune, celebrated at the Maison du Peuple, Paris, March 18, 1893, the day after the death of M. Ferry, which occurred just after his election to the Presidency of the Senate, eight years after his dismissal from office in 1885.

patriot, in which sense Rousseau continued to use it, though by his time the Encyclopædists had out of it constructed the word *patriotisme* to connote *amour de la patrie*. Until the Revolution, however, that sentiment was associated with the idea of loyalty to the crown, or even to the person of the sovereign. The kings had made France. For eight centuries, by marriage, conquest, or heritage, the fabric of France was built up by its monarchs, who were the liberators of the territory from the English, the Spaniards, and the Pope, turn by turn, and had consolidated the kingdom by absorbing the independent domains of Brittany, Burgundy, and Provence. Thus the first Emigration (unlike the second, which was a more justifiable flight from death after the throne was upset in 1792) has been judged perhaps more harshly than it merited. The feeling that patriotism signified the cause of the King was so strong among the nobles that, in crossing the frontier and in joining the Prussian or the Austrian to fight the Revolutionary levies of France, they believed that they were doing their duty as good Frenchmen; though they gave the impression that they were leaving in the lurch their sovereigns, whose fate was aggravated by their action. Moreover the troops which they and their fathers had commanded in battles won or lost for France were often foreign mercenaries, and this system kept up the idea that it was as a personal service to the king that they offered their lives. No officers were more intrepid in the field than they, but it was as valiant domestics of the royal household that they went to fight, paid by privileges, but not allowed to take any part in the affairs of their country. Thus servitude became the badge of the nobility, which

was not an aristocracy, as it represented no interests in the nation outside the institution of royalty. It was this curious conception of their position which prompted large numbers of the nobles to rally to Napoleon when he opened the gates of France to them. Mme. de Staël relates that when the bearer of one of the noblest names of the ancient court was reproached for accepting the office of chamberlain to the usurper of the throne of his king by divine right, he replied: "What would you have me do? One must serve somebody."[1]

The Emigration, which aggravated the feeling of the Revolutionaries against the invaders of France, was no doubt one of the strongest factors in the evolution of the patriotic sentiment which came into being at that period. The deputies of the States-General formed the first Assembly which in France had been animated with a national sentiment to the exclusion of all provincial distinction. When the ceremony of the Federation took place a year after the fall of the Bastille, when Talleyrand for the last time publicly pontificated as a bishop, the fact that the King's brother, with a crowd of the nobility, was plotting with the foreigner across the frontier, inspired most of those who took part in the ceremony with a feeling entirely new to French hearts. Thus was the *patrie* founded and consecrated. Then the first battalions which marched against the invasion were specially invested with the name of "patriot," and we have noticed the beneficent effect which that movement had on the spirit of the Revolution. At the same time the idea of Patriotism did not become clearly defined as a sentiment to be directed against the foreigner. The

[1] *Considérations sur la Révolution Française*, partie iv. c. 11.

Vendean insurrection, though the uprising of the West was abetted from outside, was a civil war, and the name of "patriot" assumed in it by the Republicans became merely the title of one of the contending factions.

The end of it all was that the idea of patriotism, which took its rise under circumstances abnormal and unprecedented, amid the conflicting turmoil of foreign invasion, revolution, anarchy, and civil war, became a territorial rather than a racial sentiment. The opposite phenomenon is found in our country. A Briton, while he has an abstract reverence for the island of his origin, has rarely the clinging attachment to its soil which a Frenchman has to the land of France; but he is less harsh to the men of his own race, in the destiny of which, established in no matter what quarter of the globe, he has a profound belief.

It is worthy of notice, in this inquiry into the relations of the Revolution with modern France, that the French idea of patriotism, developed in the last decade of the eighteenth century, is that which subsists still in France; whereas the British conception of patriotism has undergone a complete change in the intervening hundred years, having been modified by the expansion of the Anglo-Saxon race, and by the general march of civilisation. The instances quoted in these pages show that at the present day Frenchmen, when divided on political questions, are as cruel to one another as ever; while it is probable that their affection for the soil of France is deeper than at any previous period. The mourning for the loss of Alsace and Lorraine has not been merely the wail of wounded national vanity; nor did it chiefly spring from regret for the lost populations, for as for

the Alsacians, France took little pains to ungermanise them in language and in education when they were French subjects. The sorrow of the French is that two fair provinces, with their mountains and vineyards and towns, and above all with the left bank of the Rhine, should no longer form part of the soil of France. To live on the tract of Europe bearing that name is in a Frenchman's eyes the greatest of human privileges — so great that he shrinks from practical ideas of colonial aggrandisement which can only be purchased at the price of exile from France. At industrial exhibitions in French cities charts of the world are exposed to illustrate the produce of the colonies. On them the possessions of France are marked with vivid colour, so bountifully spread that an usher from the local Lycée conducting his ingenuous troop to be impressed with the enterprise of France might, with the untravelled aptness of a map-making school-master, exclaim: —

Quae regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?

But if the draughtsman had added to each painted area the number of French settlers inhabiting it, the statistics would show that for the purpose of the expansion of the Gallic race, France might as well claim dominion over the Polar Regions as over some of its nominal possessions. Even in Algeria, at the gates of France, less distant from Provence than is Normandy, a sparse French population discontentedly neglects the riches of a splendid heritage, ever gazing over the Mediterranean in the hope of regaining its native shores.

No doubt the longing which expatriated Frenchmen have for their country is less due to any theory of patri-

otism evolved at the Revolution than to the amenity of France as a land to live in. There is indeed no portion of the earth's surface so favoured by nature. Its climates are genial, the products of its picturesque soil are as rich as they are varied, and its offspring are endowed not only with the instinct of making the best use of them, but with the means of enjoying them, which a wide dispersion of wealth permits. The comparative inclemency of the British sky is not the sole reason why Britons have a less affection for the home of their race than have the French for theirs; but we have all known Australians and other colonists, of exemplary loyalty to the Crown of England, who after a brief sojourn within their revisited native shores, spent in carpings at the fogs which enshroud them, depart again ill-content to end their days elsewhere than in their unforced exile. Our Indian story, however, shows that Englishmen have not built up the Empire merely as epicures of climate. Moreover, when we were laying its foundations both in the East and in the West the French were our active rivals from the Hoogley, where they retain an outpost, to the St. Lawrence, where their language still is spoken, though at that time more self-denial and courage were demanded of colonists than now.

The evaporation in France of the colonising spirit, and the increase of that unimperial form of patriotism manifested in a clinging to the cradle of the race, may be ascribed to the material results of the Revolution and of the subsequent resettlement. It not only made France a pleasanter abode for the multitude by the abolition of the fiscal burdens which ground the joy of life out of the humble; but by going beyond the suppression of primo-

geniture, in denying testamentary liberty to citizens, it secured competence to the great majority to enjoy the bountiful products of the land. Similar restrictions on the power of testators would not have the same effect in our country. Laws which regulate the making of wills affect only those members of the community who have property to bequeath, and not a large proportion of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom would be better off if parents were prevented by law from disinheriting any of their progeny. But in France the national virtue of thrift tends to make every one a capitalist, and the fact that down to a low social level few marriages are contracted without dowry, shows how widely diffused are riches among all classes. Even before the Revolution the people were thrifty, and their devices to hide from the rapacious tax-gatherer the hoards which they devoted to the purchase of land sharpened the quality. Its combination with the system of forced testamentary division of property has for its result the possession of independent fortune by a large proportion of the population. Hence the men of various categories who in the nineteenth century have gone forth from the British Isles to build up an Empire beyond the seas have in France had new motives for staying at home, — from the cadets of our rich families who, dissatisfied with straitened existence on the pittance of younger sons, were the first pioneers of some of our most thriving settlements, to the superfluous offspring of our villages and towns who emigrated to escape pauperism in the mother-country. Thus the popular advantages which France offers as a land of residence restrain its colonising forces, and tend to restrict the genius of the French race to a tract of

European ground no larger than that which it filled two centuries ago.

This diffusion of unambitious comfort has another drawback. As the revenue from the modest heritage which falls to most Frenchmen needs only a small supplement to suffice for the support of a family, an ever-increasing number of the male population wish to be in the salaried service of the State. Thus the army of functionaries, necessarily great under a centralised government, is further swollen by the place-seeking demands of the population, and is a wasteful drain on the resources of the country, slenderly remunerated but needless posts being created wholesale at the expense of the tax-payers. Another disadvantage of the testamentary law is that its operation after several generations has caused such an excessive subdivision of landed property that peasant proprietors meet the inevitable difficulty by limiting the number of their children. Whence the shrinking birth-rate of France, which is a further check on colonial enterprise, and in the days of universal conscription on the Continent is a menace to French security in the face of the steady growth of the armed nation beyond the Vosges.

If an era of peace had arrived, and if to inhabit in material comfort a genial and abundant tract of Europe secured greatness for a nation, the situation of the French would be more enviable than it is. But in the century which has diffused well-being in France, Europe has ceased to be the uncontested centre of gravity of the human race, and the French have profited less than other civilised and intelligent peoples from the improved means of communication which have effected the change. They

use the ocean-going steamers for the transport of their merchandise; they multiply their custom-houses in Asia and in Africa to mark their so-called colonies; but for the conveyance of men and women over the surface of the globe the passenger ships, even those which float the French flag, would be lightly freighted were it not for Americans who cross the Atlantic and English who sail the Eastern seas, as there are few sea-going travellers from France, save reluctant functionaries and more eager soldiers, the chief agents of French colonisation.

It is not merely to extend the British Empire that our countrymen utilise modern means of locomotion. We have the temperament of migratory travel, and our particular sentiment of patriotism, inspired by race rather than by locality, makes us facile settlers in foreign lands, whither we carry some of our native habits and all our native allegiance. An Englishman whose occupation forces him to live abroad is never an object of commiseration to his friends at home if the climate of his domicile be agreeable, as is a Frenchman under similar circumstances. Indeed, an increasing number of our wealthy class voluntarily spend half of the year on the Continent, often establishing luxurious homes on alien territory favoured by the sun. There are distinguished servants of the British crown who, having been employed for years beyond the seas, do not hasten back to the scenes of their youth when their work is done, but prefer to grow old in tasting the joys of a novel foreign residence. This is incomprehensible to the French; for though in France a person who has served his country with distinction as ambassador or in other high post enjoys lamentably little social consideration at home, yet

such is the longing of every Frenchman to feel under his feet the soil of France, that brilliant careers have been prematurely exchanged for obscurity to satisfy that fancy.

Time will show whether this sentimental growth of a hundred years will be for the eventual glory of France. The idea is admirable and worthy of all sympathy, but it seems to have been developed rather too late in the history of civilisation. Rapid communication is more stimulating to racial than to local patriotism, and the love of Frenchmen for their mother soil has reached its intensity in the century which has put Acadia and other lost oversea possessions of France within nearer reach of Paris than was Albi when the explorer La Pérouse was born there under Louis XV. or Marseilles and Brest when Barras sailed from those ports to India to see France losing its last chances[1] of founding an Oriental empire, before he finally settled in his native land, and helped endow it with the Revolution and its sedentary after-consequences.

III

Patriotism of the soil would also seem to need as its complement, to make it more effective for the elevation of France, a greater harmony among Frenchmen at moments of national misfortune. Patriotism ought then to display itself as a virtue rising high above party strife,

[1] Barras' two voyages to India were commenced in 1776 and in 1781. On the latter occasion he sailed from Brest with the famous Bailli de Suffren on the expedition which French authorities say would have ended in the destruction of British domination in India but for the peace of 1783. Talleyrand relates that in 1766 he took seventeen days to go from near Angoulême to Paris in the fast Bordeaux mail-coach, the time now of a voyage from France to India.

and French critics have flattered us by comparing the calm of the English people with the passionate emotion of their own fellow-countrymen on such occasions.[1] The fall of Khartoum was humiliating for British pride, but the news of it, though bitterly deplored, caused no paroxysm of frenzy in England as did in France, a few weeks later, the tidings of the French reverse at Lang-Son, when, amid a scene of wild fury in the Chamber, M. Jules Ferry was chased eternally from office, while the raging mob outside clamoured to throw him into the Seine. Although ministers held responsible, justly or unjustly, for disasters are not thus treated in our country, the envying contrast which French publicists draw should not fill us with a complacent sense of superiority, but rather with a feeling of thankfulness that our domestic history has been of a nature to enable us to cultivate an imperturbable spirit during many generations. It was not always so.

The tendency to make scapegoats of public men is incidental to a state of unsettled government. The most celebrated victim of that type in modern times was an Englishman, whose fate was made immortal by a French epigram. When Candide crossed the Channel to compare English insanity with that of other nations, the first sight which met his eyes was a British officer being

[1] In the *Année Politique* for 1885, edited by André Daniel (M. André Lebon, since Minister of Commerce and of the Colonies), the following occurs: "L'attitude du Parlement français devant l'incident de Lang-Son fut d'autant plus attristante qu'au même moment le Parlement anglais avait sonné un admirable exemple de sang-froid en présence de difficultés de tous points comparables à celles du Tonkin." M. Gaston Deschamps and M. Sarcey, among other eminent French writers, have paid similar compliments to the attitude of England at such crises.

shot with solemnity by British soldiers on the quarter-deck of a man-of-war, and he was informed that in England it was thought a good thing from time to time to put to death an admiral to encourage the others.[1] Yet Voltaire, who thus stigmatised the sacrifice of the ill-starred Byng, was in his strictures usually more merciful to England than to France. In the half-century before the French Revolution, for which he was preparing the way, amid all the admiration excited by the comparative liberty enjoyed under the British Constitution, continental observers did not regard our kingdom as a pattern of settled government. No doubt when, in 1756, to obtain the death of Admiral Byng for an error of judgment, the people were inflamed to madness, the city of London calling for vengeance, and the cry being echoed from every corner of the realm,[2] the Hanoverian succession was practically established. But only a few years previously, before the '45 scattered the hopes of the Jacobites, another intelligent Frenchman, younger than Voltaire, thus discussed the chances of the Old Pretender, whom he saw at Rome, though he did not impress him favourably. "It is not possible for him," wrote Charles de Brosses in 1740, "to give up all hopes of recovering the crown of a country so given to revolutions. . . . The spirit of the English nation is to hate the ruling mon-

[1] *Candide*, c. xxiii.

[2] Macaulay in his essay on Thackeray's *History of the Earl of Chatham*, says of the year in which Byng was shot: "At this time appeared Brown's *Estimate*, a book universally read, admired, and believed. The author convinced his readers that they were a race of cowards and scoundrels: that nothing could save them." This is quite the tone of French pessimists of the end of the nineteenth century, when the sentiment which sacrificed Byng is rife in France.

arch, be he whom he may."[1] To France in the nineteenth century might be applied the judgment which the president of the Parlement de Dijon passed upon England at the moment when the House of Brunswick had occupied the throne the same space of time which the Third Republic had survived in the sixtieth year of Queen Victoria.

The Third Republic will not be as durable as the Hanoverian dynasty, but if any settled régime could only last in France the span of one of the sexagenarian reigns of monarchs of that line it would be an unbounded blessing to the country. Long reigns are not of auspicious tradition in France, for when that of Louis XV. ended a hundred and thirty-one years after the accession of his immediate predecessor, the administration of the land was so evil that all the glories of the Age, won by the French in art, letters, and arms, could not countervail the menacing discontent, which indeed was encouraged by the literary prodigies of the later period. It was not the length of the reigns of Louis XIV. and of his great-grandson which produced the splendour of the Grand Siècle; it was the stability of the Ancient Monarchy which gave the genius of the people its opportunity to fructify. The prolonged sway of a strong and respected ruler would no doubt be beneficent for France, but such benefits are not at the beck of human societies. Modern democracies have, however, the choice of the régime under which they will be governed, and it is within the power of the people of France to disembarrass

[1] Letters of De Brosses, translated by Lord Ronald Sutherland Gower, xxi. (*Lettres familières écrites d'Italie en* 1739 *et* 1740, par Charles de Brosses: Lettre xl. éd. de 1869.)

themselves of one untoward heritage of the Revolution — unstable government.

The forms which it has taken under the Third Republic will be carefully examined in the following pages. Here the general observation may be made that the spirit of the nation is opposed to the idea expressed in the word "improvisation," which, now a political term in daily use, till this century had no place in the French language, excepting to describe the Italian facility of making unprepared a poem or a speech. In spite of the ebullient element in the French nature, which in troublous times bursts out with ferocity, and in diversion takes the form of excessive blitheness, — in spite of the qualities which induced M. Taine in a misanthropic passage to liken the vagaries of his countrymen to the antics of monkeys,[1] — there are no creatures of the human species so orderly and so methodical as the French. In the private life of the people, their thrift, their care in keeping accounts, their skill in organising simple pleasures in the intervals of toil, the neat attire of the women, the formality and good service of the meals even in humble homes, all testify to a provident and systematic temperament inconsistent with improvisation. The habit of thought of the French is equally opposed to it. They are wont instinctively to classify and to formulate their ideas, and the educational training of all grades fosters this tendency. An English priest, once attached to the diocese of Paris, told me how impressed he was with the

[1] "L'homme est un animal très voisin du singe. . . . De là en lui un fonds persistant de brutalité, de férocité, d'instincts violents et destructeurs, auxquels s'ajoutent, s'il est Français, la gaieté, le rire et le plus étrange besoin de gambader, de polissonner au milieu des dégâts qu'il fait." — *Ancien Régime*, liv. iii. c. iv. 3.

contrast of the confessions in the two countries of young girls before the age when the sacrament is a psychological revelation or a perfunctory routine. The youthful English penitent told a tale which had neither beginning nor end, tangled and unreflecting. The French child unfolded a calmly prepared theme, a model of lucid symmetry, in which all that had to be said was arranged under precise categories.

The same systematic disposition the French like to see and to feel in their government. Their propensity is not to improvise, but to hierarchise; and so, side by side with the Parliamentary Republic, of which every President has abdicated save one who was murdered, and under which a minister who retains his portfolio for a year is a curiosity, subsists a series of stable official hierarchies, administrative, ecclesiastical, military, and judicial, which incarnate the spirit of the nation. The secret of the completeness of Napoleon's domination over the French, and of his ability to reconstruct France, in evolving order out of the chaos of the Revolution, was that he recognised the needs and the qualities of the nation. His warlike genius gave him authority and opportunity, but his civil edifice would have been swept away with his conquests and his dynasty had he not been animated with the spirit of the nation he was called to rule and to reconstitute. His severest judge of our time, M. Taine, has described his mind as divided into "three atlases," the first military, the second administrative, and the third personal, each mental volume being subdivided into a score of sections, all under methodic headings; so that Napoleon when taking a decision on any question of strategy or munitions, of taxes or tribu-

nals, or requiring the character of any individual, had only to turn to the marvellous cartulary of his mind, where every subject was classified and docketed. This quality showed that despite his alien origin he was the providential reconstructor of France; and no more conspicuous monument of the national disposition has ever been erected than the work in which M. Taine criticises the giant who exemplified and appreciated it. His treatise on the Origins of Contemporary France is itself a masterpiece of classification, proclaiming him a typical example of French intellect, trained to the highest point.

From the philosopher among the National Archives, or in his library at Menthon, analysing and marshalling the elements of the fabric of modern France, to the painstaking functionaries in public offices, tabulating the statistics and reports which facilitate all inquiry into French institutions, the people which willingly submitted to Napoleon's codes and administrative hierarchies are all in different degrees prone to classify and to stereotype. They like to have everything methodically arranged in its place, in their government as in their account-books or in their domestic cupboards; and this is the nation which has continually to accept the improvised, where outward forms of government are constantly being renewed, and where unexpected adventure is always imminent. Thus the energetic and passionate side of the national character, which when disciplined has borne France to the front on many a contested field in war and in peace, is kept in a perpetual state of irritation, with the result of internecine strife. It began at the Restoration, made inevitable by the insensate ambition of the great organiser of the Revolution, which

tempted him from his constructive work to bring upon France the chastisement of Europe. So though his administrative edifice survived him, fitted with its hierarchies suitable to the wants and tastes of the nation, to it was superadded the improvised simulacrum of the British constitution. We shall see in these pages what ills were inflicted on France by the empirical importation of a flimsy copy of a structure slowly piled up by a dissimilar people.

This unnatural state of improvisation is thus a result of the Revolution, which may be held accountable for much of the political ill-temper of the French. As each generation grows up it learns, as the lesson of the century, that whatever régime the country submits to is provisional, and will pass away, to be held up to contumely by those who will succeed it. In a library at Lyons, when looking through an encyclopædia of serious pretensions, under the letter N there met my eye a series of violent lampoons, in the guise of biographies, of the various persons who had borne the name Napoleon. Not only was Louis Napoleon arraigned as a political criminal, but his private life was aspersed, a list of his mistresses was given, and his mother, Queen Hortense, was treated as a frail adventuress. The great Emperor was vilified in the same tone; so to see what this strange instructor of the people had to say of early passages in his life, I turned to the part containing the letter B, and in it all the Bonapartes were flattered with adulation as fulsome as the abuse was scurrilous of the Napoleons. Hortense Beauharnais, the wanton of the later volume, was a high-souled princess, as was Pauline Borghese, against whom a fearful insinuation was made under the heading

"Napoleon." The explanation was, that the first letters of the alphabet had been dealt with in 1867, whereas the encyclopædists only reached N in 1874, when the Second Empire had been succeeded by the Third Republic. But what a lesson it taught to the youth of France who sought their first ideas in political philosophy in this popular source of instruction! For worse than the scepticism here inculcated was the consecration, as a doctrine, of servile mob-fickleness towards once adulated rulers, which, ever found in all communities, is usually not made a matter of boast. The treatment inflicted on the twice-fallen dynasty cannot be ascribed to the special wrath roused by the disastrous end of Louis Napoleon's policy; for if after Sedan his life was preserved only by his being sent to Germany, in which country he had made as many widows and orphans as in France, where he would have been torn to pieces, he enjoyed merely the discipline which other rulers of France had tasted, and which was in store for men of the Republic who proclaimed his downfall. The aged Louis Philippe escaping disguised in a farmer's cart through Normandy to the sea-shore in 1848, and Jules Ferry flying for his life from the people of Paris in 1885, were equally victims of the principle enshrined in the popular encyclopædia. It, in turn, is the outcome of a century of Revolution wherein rulers are only temporary expedients in the nation which of all others needs a strong and stable executive as the complement of the orderly hierarchies of its choice.

None who take part in French public life can help being infected, more or less, with either bitterness or scepticism. Fortunately for the land, it is the latter

quality which prevails, and it often takes a genial form. Our English ballad of the Vicar of Bray seems to suggest that the diocese of Oxford could have well dispensed with the incumbency of that divine; but it referred to the period when England was a country where the actual régime was liable to be upset by a revolution, and since 1789 France has been lucky to produce citizens animated with the spirit of the perpetual curate. Such a one was for over fifty years the mayor of a village which I know in the Landes. First appointed by Louis Philippe, he was an Orleanist until the Revolution of February, but before he had time to become a Republican the Coup d'État of 1851 made him an Imperialist. It was only a pleasure deferred, as after the war he became a devoted servant of the Third Republic, and continued so to be, as neither the Comte de Chambord nor General Boulanger succeeded in upsetting it. Such philosophers are the salvation of Revolutionary France; and that their qualities are appreciated was shown in this case, as both when the mayoralty was a government appointment and when it was an elective office, whatever régime was established and whatever the political tendency of the region, he was always chosen to preside over the affairs of his commune. Thus it is that France survives, although for more than a century it has spent its intelligence and its forces in trying to find out under what form of government it had better live. But it is not surprising that an air of pessimism should hang over a nation in which the most salutary symptom is the indifference of the great majority in all matters political.

IV

Besides the irritation induced by the instability of governments, there is another cause, less directly connected with the Revolution, of the ill-conditioned tone of French political controversy at times of public trouble, when internecine strife ought to be hushed instead of being loudened. The geographical disabilities which affect all Continental nations, and from which insular peoples are free, are particularly galling to a high-spirited race, and foreign inroads have become more discomposing since its patriotism has been specially inspired by associations of the soil. That sentiment, as we have seen, first took tangible shape under the stress of the invasion during the Revolution. In the epic interval between the first chant of the *Marseillaise* and the desperate interjections of General Cambronne at the last charge of the Old Guard, the armies of France had invaded many lands between the Tagus and the Jordan; but the epoch ended as it began with hostile occupation of French territory. In 1815 and the preceding year the people were so weary of war that the Allies, entering the capital, were hailed as beneficent restorers of peace; so the spectacle of Parisians cheering English redcoats camped in the Bois de Boulogne and Cossacks in the Champs Élysées, or flocking to the Opera to see the Battle of Waterloo danced as a ballet,[1] gave

[1] Letters of Harriet Countess Granville, 1810–45. This was on July 30, 1815. The previous year similar scenes were witnessed. "Le 3 Avril L. chante à l'opéra en présence des souverains alliés les couplets suivans 'Vive Guillaume, et ses guerriers vaillants! De ce royaume il sauve les enfans Par sa victoire,' etc." — Montgaillard, *Gouvernement Impérial*, 1814.

strangers the impression that in French hearts invasion was not a grievous sore. But this was only the reaction after the removal of a crushing burden from a people of buoyant nature, and the phantom of invasion remained ever before the French from the time when the youthful William of Prussia first entered Paris in the triumphal retinue of his father, who, by the force of his Allies, thus commenced the revenge of Jena, till the day, an aged man, he came back to complete it single-handed, having turned his father's kingdom into an empire in the halls of Versailles.

It was the vision of the son of Frederick William and of the successors of Blücher within their gates which prompted the Revolutionary excesses of the Parisians when the news of Sedan arrived. It has been often made a reproach to them that on the 4th of September, 1870, their frenzy was directed not against William and Bismarck and Moltke, but against Louis Napoleon and his dynasty, thus signifying that domestic and political hate is a more potent impulse in France than patriotic resistance to a foreign foe. The prominence on that day of men soon to direct the outrages of the Commune, and the apparent joy of the populace at a moment when it ought to have been grim with patriotic sorrow, justified that reproach. But though certain Republican leaders might have liked defeat to destroy the Empire better than victory to consolidate it, they would have been torn to pieces by the same mob which clamoured for the downfall of the dynasty had they evinced the same disposition with Louis Napoleon on his triumphant way to Berlin. In this as in every other consideration of the French character, composed as it is of contradictory elements, it is

impossible to generalise; but it may be accepted that the presence of a victorious enemy within the frontier of a country already acquainted with the woes of invasion is calculated to drive its sensitive inhabitants into a nervous attitude of recrimination towards its rulers, which island dwellers can scarce understand. Since the renewal of these sorrows in the war with Germany, that nervousness has increased, aggravated by depression because no statesman has yet arisen to restore France to its former position in Europe.

From reproaching ministers with being incompetent to recover Alsace and Lorraine, to believing them capable of suffering another invasion, is but a step for an agitated public. Thus it is that at moments of disaster, which ought under normal conditions to unite a people in supporting its government, a French Minister may, for events beyond his control, be treated as the most abject of traitors. When M. Jules Ferry, delivered to the mob by his friends, fell never to rise again because of a military reverse in Tonkin, it was not that the Parisians definitely expected to see the Black Flags marching down the Champs Élysées, like the Prussians in 1871; but to a population which had witnessed that spectacle the psychological idea of defeat, in no matter what part of the world, presented the unreasonable spectre of invasion. To the same source must be ascribed the tendency of the French recklessly to accuse their public men of being the agents of foreign powers. One day it was M. Ferry said to be in the pay of Prince Bismarck, at another time it was M. Clemenceau charged with being in the employ of England; and critics of the Russian alliance have muttered that this or that politician was the bondsman of the Tsar:

thus continuing the tradition of the Revolution, when Republicans used to charge one another, as well as the King's party, with being friends of the foreigner, when Jacobins denounced Girondins for being subsidised by Mr. Pitt.

"Friend of the foreigner" is an English expression, but it has had no such sinister signification in our island history. From long before the French Revolution our immunity from invasion has been the envy of Europe, and whenever our relations become strained with a continental power the desire is kindled abroad to make us cede our boast of centuries and submit to the lot of other lands which periodically see their fields and cities ravaged by alien hordes. Once when travelling on the Mozambique Coast I met with a family of Hollanders to whose settlement was wafted sometimes, from below the tropic of Capricorn, an echo of the discord between their kindred Boers and the British, and one of them said to me, "Confess, now, that you English have never forgiven us for burning your ships in the Medway." The patriotic Dutchwoman was not quite accurate. Our South African troubles have not been due to the infantile training of our nomadic speculators, who at their mothers' knees vowed to wipe out the outrage of Tromp and Ruyter. But it would be supremely true to say that we should have cause for undying resentment towards the Power which ever succeeded in landing a hostile force on our shores; for, apart from the material and momentary harm, such an experience would alter our national character, substituting a nervous temper for our phlegmatic sense of security. Even at times when invasion has seemed imminent the panics which are said to have scared us did

not greatly affect British unconcern. When Napoleon was planning his descent on our coasts our Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of York, inspecting the works at Dover and Folkestone, constructed to face the attack, wrote to the notorious Mrs. Clarke letters, afterwards brought to light,[1] in which he described the view of the French camp on the opposite heights as a harmless panorama.[2] After that peril had passed, contemporary chroniclers relate that the disaster to our troops at Walcheren caused less excitement in England than the duel it provoked between Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh or the O.P. riots at Covent Garden — though Europe was in a blaze, in the year of Wagram and of Talavera,[3] when no land but ours was free from the ingress of devouring armies.

That invasion remains an imminent alarm to France is manifest to all who have sojourned in that country since the Franco-German war laid open the frontier, inviolate for five-and-fifty years. That interval was less than the span of life of many an inhabitant of the Eastern provinces, as I have found on my travels. At St. Dié, which the Treaty of Frankfort made a frontier town, the old dean of the cathedral chapter related how he had seen in his native Vosges the two invasions which ended the First and Second Empires. Nearer Paris there is the fortified city of Soissons, where the elders, who survived a few years ago, had agitated memories of their youth and old age. Taken and retaken by Cossack and by Prussian in 1814, it was bombarded again in 1870, so that the antiq-

[1] Report of Committee of House of Commons, appointed January, 1809, to investigate the conduct of H.R.H., the Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief, with regard to promotions, exchanges, and appointments to commissions in the army. [2] 1804. [3] 1809.

uities of the capital of Clovis have suffered; but it contains other relics, and in the courtyard of an inn there is a pile of cannon-ball left by the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg as a reminder of a debt one day to be repaid. Here, again, is the hôtel of a wealthy family at Reims: the daughter, who now bears an historic name, when she entertains her guests calls to mind that her first experience as a girl of doing the honours of a house was when Prince Hohenlohe took up his quarters in her home after Sedan, and stipulated that she or her mother should always dine at table with him. Here is a peaceful château in the Brie which looks as though nothing had disturbed its calm since Mme. de Sévigné saw its stately walls rising, and Diderot discoursed in its salons; but the modern books in the old library are mutilated, and out of Thiers' *Consulate and Empire* are torn the pages describing the battle of Jena, with a scrawl to attest that it was the work of a corporal of a Prussian regiment in January, 1871.

In England only to old places are historical souvenirs attached. Those which Americans like to venerate are as a rule older than the emigrations under the Stuarts of the first British settlers who crossed the Atlantic. In France modern buildings too have their traditions, and ancient edifices have associations dating, not from the past centuries which saw them reared, but from the lifetime of contemporaries. This is not exclusively due to the continental situation of France, for in Italy the traveller does not pause to consider monuments for their recent memories; the interest of most events in France in the last hundred years is connected with the Revolution and its sequences. When there was a question of demolishing the Malmaison, a Frenchman, who had seen

not a few national vicissitudes, said to me, "Our land unhappily so constantly renews its places of historical association, that it is impossible to preserve them all." No doubt it would not be easy to find in England a house the stones of which thrill the imagination because of a woman who lived in it within the nineteenth century, and Mrs. Hannah More's cottage in the Mendips, or the home of Mrs. Hemans in the Vale of Clwyd, in spite of the chaster merits of those gifted matrons, can be regarded with less emotion than the château which the Citoyenne Bonaparte bought and where she died a fallen Empress.

It is a curious thing that while we are a less literary nation than the French, many of the more interesting reminiscences of our elders have in this century referred to the exploits of literature rather than of action. "Ah! did you once see Shelley plain?" asked Mr. Browning; while Béranger, "Il avait petit chapeau avec redingote grise. . . . Il me dit: 'Bonjour, ma chère!' 'Il vous a parlé, grandmère! Il vous aparlé!'" It is the more remarkable because there is no period of English history in which our men of action showed greater merit than in the years succeeding the French Revolution. Yet, though there was no colossal figure like that of Napoleon to overshadow our warriors, we have neglected the memory of heroes not less valiant than Marceau and Hoche, than Kléber and Masséna, of whom every Frenchman knows the fame. The victors of Trafalgar and of Waterloo we remember; and Sir John Moore we know, because a poet of a single song sang him an immortal dirge. But if the name of Sidney Smith be spoken in a company of Englishmen, its sound evokes the quips of the reverend jester of the Whigs, and not the feats of the glorious defender

of St. Jean d'Acre, who arrested Bonaparte's gigantic scheme of Eastern conquest, and who, in the Emperor's opinion, was a more fatal obstacle to his ambition than either Nelson or Wellington.

Thus because our wars were waged beyond the seas, and because Great Britain had done with revolution when Charles Edward forlornly marched to Derby and back, the liveliest recollections of the most aged who survived to the lifetime of men of our day were mild and commonplace compared with those of their neighbours in France. The oldest people we have ever known in our childhood had perhaps seen George III. bathing at Weymouth, or watched a press-gang at work; while those of the next generation remembered the talk about Mr. Perceval's murder, or heard the bells for Princess Charlotte's marriage. While such pale, isolated memories were being impressed on young English minds of those days, how crowded and how vivid were the images which passed before French eyes: the tragic figure of Marie Antoinette, the farewell embrace of a father dragged to the guillotine; the return of Napoleon from Elba between two triumphal entries of the Allies in Paris. For six-and-twenty years France was full of tumult, men's voices outdinned by the crash of arms and the sound of trumpet. At first the streets and the fields were stained with French blood shed by French hands, but they presently were turned against the enemies of France; and the clouds of cannon smoke, which succeeded those of incendiary flames, moved beyond the frontiers, within which for a decade and a half all the marchings and the counter-marchings were of the armies of France. Sometimes in the train of their commander

there came a brave show worth seeing, even if it did not console for the tribute of manhood it cost. Sometimes the roads near the capital were encumbered with the spoils of the galleries of Europe: one day the Pope of Rome came a captive visitor to the new Charlemagne; later a daughter of the Cæsars was sent as a hymeneal hostage to the soldier of the Revolution who taught the last Emperor of the West that the original meaning of "Imperator" was "victorious general of the republic." After that the tattered relics of the retreat from Moscow presaged the coming end of abnormal experience and glory. But in less than a generation a new France had been constructed on the wrecked foundations of the old edifice, and the people had passed through such a series of emotions, had suffered such vicissitudes, and had witnessed such amazing scenes, that they and the generation procreated by them during the years of unrest formed a new nation. It retained part of its heritage of old Gallic civilisation as well as many of the virtues and defects of the race; but a quarter of a century of turmoil and tension had developed new qualities which made them the people the least adapted in the world to be governed under constitutions improvised on the venerable British model.

Here, then, we see the chief effects of the French Revolution on modern France after a hundred years. There is the great tangible result, the machine of administrative government constructed by Napoleon; and there is the psychological or moral result of a people which has never yet found a political government to soothe and weld together the elements unsettled by the great upheaval. For the rest, the Revolution is not responsible for half of

the good or of the evil attributed to it. It did not hasten one moment the invention of steam power or the application of electricity which have been the real revolutionary forces of the world in the nineteenth century, and the consequences of which the Ancient Régime could not have withstood. While it abolished certain intolerable grievances which bore most harshly on the humble, it did not redress the everlasting conflict between rich and poor. There are pages of Rousseau, treating of inequality, among the most eloquent of his writings which conduced to the Revolution, and they describe the lot of the poor in our time or perhaps it might be said, at any period of the world's history. At all events, the French Revolution has done nothing to help the solutions of the problems which face humanity a century after its consummation; and it might never have occurred, for any effect it has had on the relations of capital and labour, on the progress of Socialism, or on the power of Plutocracy. The best that can be said of the French Revolution is that just when civilisation was on the point of making history colourless it burst forth and produced for the student and the artist a collection of pictures and documents thrilling and pathetic, grandiose and revolting, such as no epoch of antiquity or of modern times has supplied. But to provide intellectual pleasure for the cultivated it was hardly worth while that millions of the human race should have lamentably perished before their term.

BOOK II

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE CHIEF OF THE STATE

CHAPTER I

THE CONSTITUTION

French jurists and historians have expressed admiration at the conduct of the Parliamentary Convention which arranged the transmission of the crown after the English Revolution of 1688. The king was in flight, a foreign invasion was imminent, and this was the moment chosen by the Lords and the Commons to display the national reverence for law and prescription by tranquilly discussing precedents afforded by the deposition of Richard II. and of Edward II.; till at last the venerable Maynard, who had witnessed all the vicissitudes of the century, lost patience and exclaimed: "A man in a revolution, resolving to do nothing which is not strictly according to established form, resembles a man who has lost himself in the wilderness, and who stands crying, 'Where is the king's highway? I will walk nowhere but on the king's highway.'" [1]

An eminent French authority [2] finds a parallel and a contrast with this incident in the proceedings of the Corps Législatif, in 1815, after Waterloo. The surrounding circumstances were graver. Blücher was at the gates

[1] Macaulay, *History of England*, c. xi.

[2] E. Boutmy, *Études de Droit constitutionnel.*

of Paris ; the official *Moniteur* announced that the capital was in the hands of the Allies ; and the representative Chamber, instead of considering the dangers menacing the country, discussed with animation a Declaration of Rights, — presented by Garat, the old Minister of the Convention who announced the death-sentence to Louis XVI., — defining, in philosophic phrase, sovereignty of the people and liberty of the individual. An unphilosophic member who came to interrupt the deliberation with the announcement that the English had arrived, was scornfully silenced ; and while the Allies were concluding the capitulation, the Chamber, having completed its Declaration of Rights and of principles, proceeded to vote with academic zeal fifty articles of the new Constitution, which was not accepted by Louis XVIII.

The respective methods of these two bodies mark both the national characteristic of the peoples they represented and the attendant circumstances of the Revolutions in the two countries. England had the advantage of undergoing her decisive political crises, not only free from the pressure of alien interference, — for Ireland, which was invaded by the foreigner, was more distant from the capital than France or the Low Countries, — but also in the century before the age of Voltaire had imbued all Europe with its rationalism, at a time when even in France the tendency in matter of politics, as well as of science and theology, was to recognise authority and to register precedents. Had the English Revolutions been deferred, the Bill of Rights might have been a more symmetrical document,[1]

[1] "Il n'y a dans le Bill des Droits ni ordre ni plan d'ensemble. Les 13 articles qui le composent se suivent comme au hasard. Cela est tout à fait contraire à l'idée que nous nous faisons des actes issus d'une situation révolutionnaire" (Boutmy).

more sonorously phrased, but it would not have been an enduring possession.

The Constitution under which the last generation of the nineteenth century has lived in France is distinguished from others which preceded it in that it contains no declaration of principle, no philosophic or humanitarian pretension. It would be too much to say that the absence of axioms similar to those found in the Declaration of the Rights of Man, or in the Constitution of 1848, has given it a durability not enjoyed by the régimes initiated by those instruments. It is, however, certain that the circumstances which moved the National Assembly to confine itself to the organization of the public powers without theoretical dissertations on doctrine, have, in their development, preserved the Constitution of 1875, which has lasted to the end of the century with little modification. The Constitution of the Third Republic owes its origin, as it owes its duration, to the weakness of purpose and the dissensions of the monarchical parties. The National Assembly which established the Republic was not a republican body. The majority were monarchical, but the Legitimists, Orleanists, and Bonapartists composing it failed to agree; and the country being weary of an avowedly provisional state of things, the necessity was forced upon the unenthusiastic Assembly[1] of confirming Marshal MacMahon as Chief of the State, with a Repub-

[1] The reporter of the Commission which had examined the Bill for the "Organisation des pouvoirs publics," M. de Ventavon, described the situation very well: "Il est difficile dans la situation actuelle des esprits de fonder des institutions définitives. Tous les gouvernements qui se sont succédés en France y ont laissé des partisans, et ces partisans sont représentés dans l'Assemblée Nationale. Comment grouper une majorité pour établir un gouvernement qui doit être le triomphe exclusif d'un parti?" (Ass. Nat. Séance du 21 Janvier, 1875.)

lican constitution to guarantee the Septennate. Hence the debates which preluded the passing of the Constitutional Law were unique in their character; for little as they resembled discussions in the English legislature on constitutional changes, with their grave references to historical precedents,[1] they departed also from French tradition in that they were conducted without classical allusion and without didactic theorising. We are all familiar with the pedantic extravagances of the orators of the Convention, faintly echoed by those who aided Lamartine in making the Constitution of 1848; but the National Assembly reared the Third Republic without any inspiration from Greek and Latin antiquity, without any proofs from the Encyclopædists. M. Jules Favre refrained from comparing himself with Thrasybulus, and the reactionary composition of the "Commission des Trente"[2] did not produce the obvious allusion to the Thirty Tyrants. The regicide date of the 21st of January, though it raised the ire of aged Royalists whose fathers had served Louis XVI., failed to call forth from Republicans the inapt but once inevitable reference to Marcus Brutus; and M. Jules Simon argued with sound philosophy, without one specious quotation from the philosophers of the last century.

In an enactment passed under such conflicting circumstances the commonplaces of revolutionary terminology could no more find a place than declarations in favour of limited monarchy or of plebiscitary dictatorship. The

[1] One or two speakers, for instance M. Dufaure, referred to historical precedents, but rather as warnings than as models of conduct.

[2] The Commission des Trente, nominated at the end of 1873 to prepare the constitutional laws, contained scarcely any Republicans among its thirty members.

keynote to the situation is given in the concluding protests of the extreme Legitimists on the day the new Constitution was voted by the National Assembly.[1] They vainly besought the Broglies and the Haussonvilles to hesitate before joining with Republicans of every shade, not only with Léon Say and Dufaure, but with Gambetta and Jules Favre, in founding the Republic. But the Orleanists justified their transaction with the Left Centre by the belief that the Conservative Republic would be the safest halting-place, till abdication or death took the Comte de Chambord out of the way of the foundation of a constitutional monarchy; while the members of the Extreme Left knew that any form of Republic, once established, was likely to become their possession in the face of monarchical dissensions. Thus by a compromise, regarded as provisional by many of its supporters, voted without phrases and without enthusiasm, was founded the régime which has proved more durable than any other set up in France since the Ancient Monarchy succumbed on the 10th of August, 1792.

A constitution thus brought into being presents no scientific interest, such as that which the Constitution of the United States offers. It is chiefly interesting as the scheme of government under which a great people has managed to live for a certain number of years. Even decorated with a preamble of pretentious maxims like that prefixed to the Constitution of 1848, it would not have altered the fact that, though France is more exercised in the practice of constitution-making than any other civilised nation, it has never seriously applied itself to the scientific study of constitutional law. It has no

[1] Ass. Nat. Séance du 25 Février, 1875.

classical literature on the subject, and since the Revolution its Faculties of Law have made but faint attempts to give instruction in it,[1] the great jurists not being attracted to a subject made barren in their nation by recurring political vicissitude. The existence of a treatise like Tocqueville's *Démocratie en Amérique* displays at once the aptitude of the French genius to deal with constitutional problems, and its compulsion to turn to other countries to study them.

It would serve, therefore, no useful purpose to institute a comparison between the French, the English, and the American conceptions of a constitution. We might take, for instance, the Constitution of 1848, and point out how this imperative act of the nation, creating out of nothing an organised hierarchy, differs, on the one hand, from the English Constitution founded on a series of treaties made during the course of ages between certain ancient corporations, the immemorial depositaries of public powers; and, on the other hand, differs from the Federal Constitution of the United States, with its distinct and sovereign bodies politic, which unite to create and to limit the State. We might recognise in all this the influence of national characteristic — of the English love for tradition and informal precedent, of the French tendency towards abstract rationalism, with its refined classifications and its precise formulas. We might further illustrate our theme by a contrast between the origins of the American and the French democracy — the former, without a past, never having been mixed with any other element, establishing its régime without strife and

[1] A chair of constitutional law was created at Paris for Rossi in 1835, but was abolished in 1851, and was revived only in 1879 (Boutmy).

without the destruction of institutions ; the latter, the final transformation of an aged and complex society effected by means of a struggle, violent, yet not wholly conclusive.

But while we are engaged on these instructive parallels, Louis Bonaparte comes along, with no other merit to recommend him than the bearing of the name of one who, half a century before, had made short work of constitutions and their makers ; so before we have time to formulate our conclusions, the Sovereignty of the People expresses itself in a manner repugnant to philosophers, and by the voice of the plebiscite ratifies the Coup d'État of December, as it had ratified that of the 18 Brumaire, thus deciding to dispense with constitutional government for a season.

A régime will have had to last half a century without revolution before the French will begin to believe in the durability of their constitutions, and before jurists can make them the subject of profitable examination. Sixty years ago, when the Monarchy of July gave promise of establishing a permanent form of government in France, and the prospects of the Orleans dynasty seemed assured, Tocqueville, in the midst of his studies of American democracy, could not refrain from sounding a note of scepticism. He was commenting upon the somewhat ironical theory of the immutability of the French Constitution, and illustrated it by quoting the decree of Chancellor Maupeou under Louis XV., which provided that the new tribunal of judges instituted by it should be irremovable, like their predecessors, who had just been swept away.[1] This tradition of immutability has been maintained, so that in the intervals of revolutions con-

[1] *La Démocratie en Amérique*, vol. i. note L.

stitutional changes can only be effected by the deliberate setting in motion of an elaborate and special machinery.[1] Here French and English ideas and practice are entirely opposed. We have no revolutions in our country, but we possess no legal safeguards against hasty amendments of the Constitution. We have no cognisance of constituent assemblies as distinct from legislative assemblies. Each succeeding Parliament is competent to act in either capacity, and the same procedure with which bankruptcy or cattle-plague is regulated would suffice to alter the succession to the Crown. That the working of this system, even with a wide franchise, does not result in either inordinate constitutional changes, or collisions between the Estates of the Realm, is doubtless largely due to national character; but it is also due to the wisdom of our ancestors, who have always refrained

[1] Revision: — The doctrine was laid down in 1884 that, while it was impossible to limit the powers of a revisional Congress by any legal sanction, it was practicable to place a *de facto* limitation on the scope of their deliberations, by a moral engagement taken by the majority in each Chamber not to discuss any articles of the Constitution which had not been formally specified in advance. There is no doubt that Art. 8 of the Constitutional Law of February 25, 1875, in making the meeting of a revisional assembly depend on a double resolution passed previously by each of the two Chambers, intended that both branches of the Legislature should be in accord, both on the necessity of a revision, and on the nature of the questions to be decided. In 1884 the Prime Minister, M. Ferry, and the Minister of Justice, M. Martin Feuillée, in making their proposals for Revision, laid down the axiom, which was not seriously questioned, that there could be no convocation of the National Assembly unless the resolutions of the two Chambers were identical in their general scope. It is clear that this position detracts from the importance of a constituent Congress, but there is no escaping from the dilemma; so long as the consent of the two Houses is required for the meeting of the Congress, either its proceedings must be previously agreed upon, the Congress becoming simply a registering assembly, or the proceedings are not agreed upon and no Congress can take place.

from substituting a written constitution for the scattered laws and traditions which order the government of the kingdom. Drawn up in the form of a statute, it would present perpetual temptation to reformers, even though safeguarded by precautions, with which all communities, whether prone to change or not, find it necessary to protect a written constitution.

These considerations on the instability of the French Constitution might seem to indicate that we should not at the outset examine those institutions which during the last century have been repeatedly subject to change, but should turn first to those which, having survived revolutions, may be regarded as permanently established.

Political prediction is always unsafe, but a prophet would not be considered rash who foretold that in England twenty years hence the Crown, with its attributes, will remain unchanged, but that local administration will have undergone serious modifications. On the other hand, in France no one would predict the reform or the abolition of the communal system in that period; while few are confident that the supreme executive power will be then vested in a President of a Parliamentary Republic. This being so, the question arises whether it would not be better to work upwards, studying Municipal and Departmental organisation before dealing with the Executive and the Legislature. That plan has its advantages, and was employed by Tocqueville in his description of the system of the United States; but he points out that, while in America the commune lends its functionaries to the Government, in centralised France the Government imposes its functionaries on the commune,[1] and

[1] *La Démocratie en Amérique*, vol. i. c. 5.

little progress has been made since in the direction of decentralisation. It is necessary, therefore, in order to understand the organisation of the commune and of the department, to study the machinery of the legislature and of the central Government from which it depends.

CHAPTER II

THE CHIEF OF THE STATE[1]

I

FEW subjects are more attractive to the student of modern democracy than the various conceptions which the French people have held in the last hundred years of the attributes of a chief of the Executive. They have not succeeded one another with the gradual development of evolution; nor have they followed the regular course of periodic revolution and reaction. They have to be referred to a number of causes. The alleged instability of the national character is not sufficient to account for the history of the last century in France. Account has also to be taken of the premature suddenness of the great emancipation; of the personality of the master into whose arms France threw herself, not knowing what to do with

[1] The scientific order of examining the component parts of the French Constitution would be (1) the Constituent, (2) the Legislative, and (3) the Executive Powers, but it will be more convenient to depart from it, and before examining the Legislative power to consider the functions and the position of the chief of the Executive under the Republic. The President does not unite in his person all the executive attributes of the Government, which he shares with his ministers; but they, though not all Senators or Deputies, are so dependent on the changing caprice of the Lower Chamber, that they are in practice a temporary committee of the Legislature, so that it will be best to treat of them under Parliament.

her new liberty, who made the succession difficult for ordinary mortals; of the peculiar influence that exterior relations have constantly had on the domestic destinies of the country. Only thus is it possible to understand how it was the same nation which, ten years after publishing its Declaration of the Rights of Man, handed them all over to the soldier whom it made Emperor, whose consistent policy was a complete negation of each article of that famous document; which, having submitted with pride to the glorious tyranny of a military dictator, accepted as his successors from the hands of his foreign conquerors the unwarlike heirs of the régime, the upsetting of which had cost Europe a quarter of a century of convulsion; which, half a generation later, exchanged its belated exponents of the divine right of kings for a statutory monarchy after the British model; and wearying of it wandered back into the wastes of doctrinaire revolution, investing itself there with universal suffrage, which it forthwith confided to the guardianship of Louis Napoleon to form the anomalous foundation of the anomalous autocracy established by him.

The examination of these phenomena, of deep interest to the philosophic historian, has no place in a work dealing with the actual institutions of France. The nomination of Bonaparte to the Consulate, by the remnant of the Anciens and the Cinq Cents, has no more connection with the manner in which M. Carnot or M. Faure was chosen to the Presidency of the Republic, than has the election of Hugues Capet as King by the nobles and prelates of the Duchy of France, save in the sense that every political event of this century depends on the Revolution, and

on the subsequent reconstruction of the country by Napoleon.

In considering the position and attributes of the President of the Republic, we have not therefore to investigate an hierarchic line even of the moderate length of that of the Presidents of the United States. The defeat of Sedan, and the consequent overthrow of the Second Empire, make 1870 a date as indicative of a new order of things in France as 1792 or 1848. A new Government had to be created out of nothing amid circumstances of peculiar hardship. The Government of the 4th of September was only a Committee of National Defence; and it was not until the capitulation of Paris that the armistice gave the opportunity for the election of a National Assembly. The first act of that body on meeting at Bordeaux was unanimously[1] to declare M. Thiers "Chief of the Executive of the French Republic." By his investiture with that title, and by its use in the preliminaries of peace, signed at Versailles the following week, the Third Republic was consecrated by the voice of the people. If the name given to it of a "Republic without Republicans" was an exaggeration, it is true that the National Assembly elected by universal suffrage was an anti-Republican body, for no French Legislature of the century had included so many men of rank and fortune. A great majority of its members were of the two sections of the Monarchical party, the Imperialists being discredited by the war, while the prolongation of the struggle by Gambetta's heroic persistence, and the menace of Revolution in Paris, covered

[1] February 17, 1871. The Assembly was so nearly unanimous that a division was not called for.

Republicanism with unpopularity in the country, which the unpatriotic excesses of the Commune were soon to invigorate.

A year after Sedan the Assembly passed a law conferring on the Chief of the Executive the title of President of the Republic.[1] M. Thiers continued to be a member of the National Assembly, and sometimes took part in its debates. It was not prepared to follow the old Minister of Louis Philippe in his gradual but definite adoption of the Republican form of government. Gambetta's famous speech[2] at Grenoble, in which he declared that a new social stratum was about to take possession of political power, alarmed Moderates as well as extreme Reactionaries, and just when the German army of occupation was withdrawn before the stipulated time, owing to the speedy payment of the war indemnity by the patriotic energy of M. Thiers, his Government was defeated in the Assembly after a speech he had made in its support. The President forthwith tendered his resignation,[3] although a law had been passed,[4] in consequence of his previous threat to resign, substituting ministerial for presidential responsi-

[1] The law was passed by a majority of 491 to 94, Gambetta and one or two Radicals, who wanted an appeal to the country, voting in the minority, which was generally composed of extreme Monarchists (*Annales de l'Ass. Nat.* i. 5).

[2] September 26, 1872, "Les nouvelles couches."

[3] May 24, 1873.

[4] March 13, 1873. Previous to this the President had the right to take part in debates. This law enacted that he could only be heard after giving notice to the President of the Chamber, and that no debate could take place during the sitting in which he had thus taken part. The law created no precedent for M. Thiers' successors, and its only importance was in laying down the principle that no parliamentary assembly could deliberate freely in the presence of the Chief of the Executive.

bility in the case of collisions between the Chief of the State and the Assembly. But the majority did not ask M. Thiers this time to reconsider his decision, and with unbecoming haste elected and proclaimed on the spot Marshal MacMahon President of the French Republic. The aged statesman may have committed errors; personal ambition may have been a motive for his adhesion to the principle of a Republic; the consciousness of the value of his services to his country may have unduly filled him with the idea that he was indispensable to its government; the Reactionaries may have honestly believed that his adoption of the Republic would not save it from the hands of those whose Republicanism was that of the Commune;[1] nevertheless, in the eyes of Europe, the curt dismissal of the venerable Liberator of the Territory was an act of wanton ingratitude, prejudicial to France as seeming to be a token of national inconstancy.[2] Its only justification would have been the success of the majority in founding a stable government of monarchical form. The sole result, however, of the

[1] The rupture of the majority with the President was brought about by the hostile attitude of the extreme Republicans to him in the matter of the Barodet election. M. de Rémusat, M. Thiers' Minister for Foreign Affairs, was candidate for Paris, and was opposed by M. Barodet, a sympathiser with the Commune (elected Senator of the Seine twenty-three years later in 1896), whom Gambetta supported, the President's candidate being beaten by 45,000 votes.

[2] The Reactionaries assert that Prince Bismarck took exception to the dismissal of M. Thiers, because he thought that the result would be the foundation of a strong monarchy better able than the Republic to cope with Germany. This theory seems to be founded on unofficial statements made by M. de Gontaut Biron, the Royalist Ambassador of France at Berlin; but even if he represented accurately the feeling of the German Chancellor, it is certain that the indignation felt in England and elsewhere at the treatment of M. Thiers was disinterested.

24th of May, 1873, was to provide a definite date to mark the opening of the era of reactionary incompetence in France. During many years after the day when the Monarchists sacrificed M. Thiers, because he seemed to obstruct their schemes, the country intimated from time to time, more or less clearly, that it was not indisposed to discard the Republic, if only a strong and imposing form of government were forthcoming to take its place; and each recurring occasion only helped to establish a tradition that anti-Republicanism in France is synonymous with political feebleness and ineptitude.

It is from the election of Marshal MacMahon that the history of the Presidency of the Third Republic commences, though his election was compassed for the purpose of extinguishing both the Presidency and the Republic.

When the National Assembly met in November, 1873, the President, in his message read by the Prime Minister, the Duc de Broglie,[1] after remarking that nothing had occurred in the vacation to trouble the public peace, recommended the House to establish a form of government which would attract the support of all lovers of order without distinction of party. Untroubled as the autumn had been, important events had occurred which produced, instead of a decided declaration of policy, this vague appeal for the establishment of a vague government. The Comte de Paris had made his ill-starred pilgrimage to Frohsdorf[2] to abandon to the grandson of Charles X.

[1] At that epoch the Minister who formed and gave his name to the Cabinet was officially styled "Vice-President of the Council." After 1876 he was called "President of the Council."

[2] August 5, 1873.

the pretensions of the family of Orleans to the Crown, and to accept the position of Dauphin of France, thus, by implication, denouncing his grandfather Louis Philippe as a usurper. With the government of Moral Order in command of the administration, it seemed, in spite of the successes of Republican candidates at legislative bye-elections, as though the moment had arrived for the restoration of the Monarchy, when its supporters were thrown into disarray by the Comte de Chambord's[1] resumption of his original resolve only to accept the Crown with the white flag, which thus became the shroud of the Royalist party. Not that that party intended to end its life at the moment when it seemed to be fuller of vitality than at any period since 1815; but the situation was embarrassing. A Republic without Republicans is less anomalous than a Monarchy without a king, and the only possibility of the advent of a king lay in the abdication or the death of the Comte de Chambord, whose adherence to the white flag alienated even ardent anti-Republicans, the gallant soldier at the head of affairs declaring that the rifles would go off by themselves if the army were despoiled of its glorious tricolour.

The uncertainty as to what form of government the country desired was such that even the Bonapartists, presuming on the Emperor's death to dim the stigma of Sedan, and full of hope in the stripling promise of his son, boldly proposed their traditional remedy for the perplexities of democracies, and invited the Assembly to prescribe a plebiscite at which every adult citizen should pronounce for Monarchy, Republic, or Empire.[2] Mean-

[1] October 27, 1873.

[2] Proposition Éschasserieux, November 5, 1873.

while the reproach addressed by the Republicans to the unsolid monarchical majority seemed justified. "You will not inaugurate the Republic," said MM. Grévy and Jules Simon, "and you cannot found the Monarchy."[1] Undoubtedly the idea of the majority in establishing the Septennate was that it would be a halting-place where the Monarchists might organise their forces and arrange their differences, while the permanent exclusion of the aged M. Thiers might thus be assured. No one, however, quite knew the part that Marshal MacMahon was going to play. When the proposal was made to confer the Presidency upon him for ten years, that term obviously suggested comparisons with the Consulate conferred on Bonaparte, but it was equally obvious that no parallel could be drawn with the 18 Brumaire, as no one imputed to the Marshal the intention of re-establishing a throne for his own occupation. Some of the Royalists described the arrangement as a Protectorate; others referred to the Lieutenancy-General of the Comte d'Artois in 1814 between Napoleon's abdication at Fontainebleau and the arrival of Louis XVIII.; while other orators demanded, as had been already asked concerning M. Thiers, whether MacMahon was going to be a Washington or a Monk.

The latter of those worthies is the one hero of English history whose name since the French Revolution has been more familiar in France than in England. The successive dethronements of various dynasties, and the subsequent recall of some of them, have made Frenchmen constantly regard a restoration of a former régime as the possible termination of every form of government. Consequently the apparition of the General who brought back Charles

[1] Assemblée Nationale: Séances du 18 et 19 Novembre, 1873.

Stuart to England is always being looked for, and each generation asks, "Who is to be the Monk of our Restoration?" When Dumouriez, after his victories of Valmy and Jemmapes, declared against the Convention, his defection was ascribed to the wish to be the Monk of the French Revolution. Five years later, amid the anarchy of the Directory, the Royalists rashly hoped that the fame of Monk might be the ambition of the young hero of Arcola and of Rivoli. When, in 1814, that General of the Army of Italy was relegated to an Italian island, having in the meanwhile been Emperor of Western Europe, would-be Monks to bring back the Bourbons swarmed among the "gens de Bonaparte." It was not the moment for an ambitious soldier to play the part, as Marmont found out, but there was no lack of civilians among the late Imperial retinue to share the credit of the Restoration with the Allies. Talleyrand would not have disdained it, and Fouché, Duke of the Empire, thought that his share in the guillotining of one royal brother demanded his instant protection of the two survivors. The escape from Elba, however, put an end to retrospective claims to the Monkship of the first Restoration, and when Louis XVIII. was finally put back in the Tuileries no one disputed that he owed his throne to alien aid, as the grateful monarch testified when, like Charles II. who created his restorer Duke of Albemarle, he made Wellington Duc de Brunoy in the kingdom of France as recompense for the victory of Waterloo.[1] The nephew of the loser of that battle was

[1] The formal granting of this title by Louis XVIII. to the Duke of Wellington is difficult to verify. In the *Illustrated News* of September 25, 1852, a letter was published from a witness of the entry of the Allies into Paris who repeated the story that Louis XVIII. made Wellington "Duke of Brunoy," and also a "Knight of the Holy Ghost and a Mar-

perhaps the least likely Monk ever conceived, yet there were ingenuous Royalists who imagined that Louis Napoleon made his Coup d'État to prepare the way for the elder Bourbons disinherited by his enemies the Orleans. The Bishop of Chartres, Mgr. de Montals, an aged Legitimist, ventured thus to address the Prince President to his face: "You cannot keep for yourself the supreme power. The part that you have to play is that of Monk, and in saving France thus you will acquire a more lasting glory than that of your uncle."[1] When the Man of December was a fallen Emperor and a prisoner at Wilhelmshöhe, it was the perverted image of Monk which impelled Bazaine to treason at Metz; and when the Comte de

shal of France," but at his funeral the Dukedom of Brunoy was not included in the list of foreign titles proclaimed at the grave-side by the Heralds. Louis XVIII. before the Revolution, when Comte de Provence, purchased the Seigneurie of Brunoy from the heirs of Marmontel, who, early in the century, had bought from the La Rochefoucauld family the Marquisate, which, in 1775, was erected into a Duché-Pairie. It was thus the private appanage of the restored King, and if he conferred a title on the Duke of Wellington it is likely to have been selected by him as a personal gift. Living near Brunoy, I found that though the tradition lingered there nothing authentic was known about it. Messrs. Hachette told me that they had not been able to corroborate the version of it in the 1878 edition of their *Environs de Paris Illustrés:* it was, I imagine, copied from the *Itinéraire de Paris à Sens par Jeannest St. Hilaire*, where the fact is stated without the citation of decree or letters patent. The Duchess of Wellington kindly made some inquiries at my request at the Heralds' College in 1895, without result. In the *Bulletins des Lois* of the years succeeding the Restoration I can find no decree conferring this title among the patents of honours conferred on Talleyrand and other makers of the Restoration: but if Louis XVIII. conferred French honours on the victor of Waterloo, he would not have given excessive publicity to them. A learned resident of Brunoy, M. Ch. Mottheau, who does not think that the story was a mere invention of Bonapartist enemies of the Bourbons, informs me that a relative of M. de Courcel is investigating the interesting point.

[1] *Hist. du Cardinal Pie*, liv. ii. c. 4.

Paris, with the fatality which attended his every transaction, accepted in an evil moment the protection of the soldier of fortune who, as Minister of War, had insolently dismissed his kinsman from the army of France, it was because his adherents were persuaded that at last a veritable Monk had appeared in the person of General Boulanger.

Marshal MacMahon did not model his conduct on that of any historical personage, either in restoring a dynasty, or in establishing a commonwealth, or in seizing a dictatorship. The Septennate was conferred upon him, in spite of the opposition of the Republicans, as a bridge of years which might possibly lead from the Republic to a Monarchy. Some of the opposition leaders denounced the arrangement as illegal. They argued that the National Assembly was a constituent body whose mandate was to make a constitution, and that in preluding that work by attaching the Presidency to a person for a term of years beyond the limits of its own existence, it was both transgressing its powers and destroying its constituent character. One of the weightiest opponents of the Law of November, 1873, conferring the Presidency on MacMahon for seven years, was the only President of the Republic who ever profited to the full from the septennial rule thus established. M. Grévy had, in the National Assembly of 1848, acquired his first fame in opposing the creation of the office of President of the Republic, and the general tenor of his criticisms during the debates of 1873 and 1875 was to indicate the dangerous use to which that post might be put.

Thus the Chambers, created under the Constitution of 1875, were not called upon to use their prerogative in

choosing a chief of the Executive, as they found a President ready installed, who eventually was much more difficult to dislodge than modern rulers of France usually have been,[1] and the somewhat confused debates in the National Assembly throw little new light on the conception of the Chief of the State. The most important incident of these discussions occurred after the adoption of an amendment making the Senate elective by the same electors as the Chamber of Deputies: whereupon the President sent a message to the Assembly to the effect that as that vote destroyed the special character of the Second Chamber, and compromised the conservative interests of the country, he could not accept it.[2] The Republicans yielded, and during all the long period in which they have had the majority in the two Chambers they have never used it to restore the amendment of the Constitution disallowed by Marshal MacMahon.

II

The articles of the Constitution of 1875 relating to the President of the Republic, his election and his powers,

[1] The legendary "J'y suis, j'y reste," which became the device of the Marshal during his conflict with the Chamber after the "Seize Mai," was constantly quoted as indicative of his character long before there was any certainty of the Republicans getting the upper hand. In the Assemblée Nationale, on the eve of the passing of the Septennate law, M. de Castellane told the well-known story, "C'était à Malakoff: le premier il entre dans la citadelle; elle est minée: elle va l'ensevelir sous ses ruines; n'importe. Il se jette sur le télégraphe et écrit à son chef cette parole sublime: 'J'y suis et j'y reste.' Que le parti conservateur imite cet exemple. Lui aussi il est dans une tour minée," etc. (Séance du 18 Novembre, 1873).

[2] Assemblée Nationale: Séances du 11 et 12 Février, 1875 (see vol. ii. p. 6).

are as follows. He is elected by absolute majority of the Senate and Chamber united, which electoral college is called the National Assembly, and in the case of extraordinary vacancy, owing to death or other cause, it is forthwith summoned for the election of a new President,[1] the Council of Ministers being invested with the executive power in the interval. He is elected for seven years and can be re-elected,[2] but it is necessary to complete the entire septennial term in order to be eligible for re-election, as the term commences from the day of the appointment of the actual President without any reference to the duration of the presidency of his predecessor.[3] As M. Grévy was made to relinquish the presidency early in his second term, France has not yet experienced the government of one President of the Republic for fourteen years. It is urged that that period is far too long for an elective chief of the State to be at the head of affairs, it being the length of an average reign in most countries, or indeed of a dynasty in modern France—longer than the First Empire, and almost as long as the Restoration. The unpopularity of M. Grévy in his second term of office, and the compara-

[1] L.C. 25 Février, 1875, art. 2 et 7. (The letters L.C. signify Loi Constitutionnelle.)

[2] L.C. 25 Février, 1875, art. 2.

[3] In the early days of Marshal MacMahon's presidency it was his practice to summon informally to the Élysée certain prominent members of the Right Centre and of the Left Centre of the National Assembly to confer with him on the Constitutional Laws then about to be voted; and the moderate Conservatives thus proposed a scheme somewhat resembling the Constitutional Law of the United States relating to the vacancy in the office of President to the effect that if the Marshal disappeared before the close of his septennate he should be replaced by another President who should hold office until 1880, the date at which the seven years of the Marshal expired. This plan was known as the "Septennat impersonnel."

tive ease with which he was prevailed upon to resign, perhaps indicate that a prolonged sojourn at the head of the State contains in itself the remedy to prevent its becoming dangerous.

The President of the Republic has the right of initiating laws concurrently with the members of the two Chambers,[1] a power which bears more resemblance to that enjoyed by the Sovereign in England and in other constitutional monarchies than that of the President of the United States, who only recommends measures to the examination of Congress.[2] He promulgates the laws when they have been voted by the two Chambers within a month in ordinary cases, and within three days if they are declared urgent by either House of Legislature.[3] He has the right of pardon,[4] which is practically an absolute right, subject to certain formalities. He has at his disposition the armed forces of the country, a power which seems remarkable when it is considered that the President to whom it was given without restriction by the Assembly which established the Republic was a Marshal of France. The explanation seems to be that the Republicans were so glad to have the Republican régime assured by peaceable means that they were willing to give large prerogatives to the Chief of the State, feeling sure that in the face of the hopeless division of the monarchical parties they could not be used by the Marshal-President against the young Republic, and that in the future the legislative representatives, to whom was confided the choice of the Chief of the Executive, would take care not to elect a person likely

[1] L.C. 25 Février, 1875, art. 3.

[2] Pierre, *Traité de Droit Politique:* "Initiative des Lois."

[3] L.C. 16 Juillet, 1875, art. 7.

[4] L.C. 25 Février, 1875, art. 3.

to misuse this prerogative.[1] It is limited by the Constitutional Law of July, 1875, which declares that the President cannot declare war without the previous consent of the two Chambers.[2] All civil and military appointments are made by him, but this is only a nominal prerogative,[3] the President of the French Republic having no other patronage at his disposal than that of the posts in his own household. The American spoils' system has no counterpart in France. It is practised in the sense that since the Republicans came into power the profession of Reactionary opinions has been generally a bar to employment in the administration and the magistracy, just as Republicans under the government of Moral Order were excluded from public appointments. But so far from the election of a new President causing an upheaval in the civil service, like that associated with the advent to office of a President in the United States, there are fewer functionaries affected by a change of the Chief of the State than by one of the frequent changes of ministry. Consequently the crowd of office-seekers who throng the receptions at the White House is unknown at the Élysée, as on the most importunate the French President has nothing to bestow.[4]

[1] "Nous avons consenti à vous donner le pouvoir exécutif le plus fort qu'on ait jamais constitué dans un pays d'élection et de démocratie" (Gambetta, Ass. Nat. Séance du 12 Février, 1875).

[2] L.C. 16 Juillet, 1875, art. 9.

[3] M. Jules Simon records that when he became Prime Minister in 1876 Marshal MacMahon, in the most constitutional manner, never refused his signature for the replacing of Reactionary functionaries by Republicans, though the President made no disguise of his personal preference for "enemies of the Republic."

[4] L.C. 25 Février, 1875, art. 3. The Constitution, in providing that every act of the President has to be countersigned by a Minister, relieves him of the responsibility of private patronage.

The President of the Republic usually presides over the meetings of the Cabinet, in which he takes sometimes an active part, his observations generally relating to matters within the competence of the Foreign Minister or the Minister of War. He presides at all the national solemnities, and to him are accredited ambassadors and diplomatic envoys: he has, moreover, under certain limitations, the power to ratify and negotiate treaties.[1] Unlike the Ministers he is accounted personally responsible only in the case of high treason:[2] moreover a member of any family which has reigned over France is ineligible for the office.[3]

Some of these attributes will be noticed later; but two prerogatives conferred on the President by the Constitution, that of dissolving the Chamber of Deputies before its legal term, on the advice of the Senate, and that of adjourning the sittings of Parliament for a month,[4] were used by Marshal MacMahon during the crisis known as the Seize Mai, from the date on which it commenced, and reference to it here will fall in proper chronological order.

The first Chamber elected after the voting of the Constitutional Laws of 1875 contained a large Republican majority, the famous 363, while in the Senate the Reactionaries prevailed. The clerical party, disappointed at its defeat at the polls, due in part to its exterior interference, which was imperilling the relations of France with Germany and Italy, became so aggressive that the ministry, presided over by M. Jules Simon, the least anti-clerical of French Liberals, had to accept a motion

[1] L.C. 16 Juillet, 1875, art. 8.
[2] L.C. 25 Février, 1875, art. 6.
[3] L.C. 13 Août, 1884, art. 2.
[4] L.C. 16 Juillet, 1875, art. 2.

inviting it to use the same disciplinary policy towards the Church which had been followed by Napoleon III. and Louis Philippe. It was then that Gambetta made use of his famous exclamation, "Le cléricalisme, voilà l'ennemi." Some days later, on the morrow of a less important debate, a letter appeared in the *Officiel*, dated May 16, 1877, from President MacMahon to his Prime Minister, informing him that he had no longer his confidence, as it was clear that he had lost the influence over the Chamber which a President of the Council ought to exercise.

M. Jules Simon resigned and the Duc de Broglie took his place, the President announcing to the Chambers that he intended to act on his constitutional right of choosing counsellors sharing his views, and by virtue of the Law of 1875 he adjourned them for a month. On resuming, the Lower House, by a large majority, denounced the coalition of groups hostile to the Republic, and the Senate, at the request of the President, authorised the dissolution of the Chamber. The administrative electoral machinery was now in the hands of the Reactionaries, the Broglie Ministry having followed the policy, traditional in France, of replacing the functionaries hostile to it with its own partisans; but in spite of this advantage for the official candidates, patronised by the Government according to the methods practised under the Empire, and of a fiery manifesto of the Marshal-President (which indeed was eclipsed by a posthumous appeal of M. Thiers, who died on the eve of the elections), a Republican majority was sent back to the Chamber, and the Broglie Cabinet resigned. The Marshal sent for General de Rochebouet, who formed a ministry of unknown Reactionaries, but as

the Chamber refused to vote supply it survived only for a few days, when M. Dufaure formed a Republican Cabinet[1] which lasted for the remainder of the MacMahon Presidency.

The history of the Seize Mai merits attention, as it indicates the difference of the English and the French conception of what is constitutional, and also displays how inconveniently a written constitution may work with parliamentary institutions. The Constitutional Laws of the Third Republic make no mention of the nomination of Ministers which is deemed the prerogative of the President, in virtue of the article investing him with the appointment to all civil and military posts. The practice now is for a member of the retiring Cabinet[2] to countersign the presidential nomination of the new Prime Minister, who in turn countersigns those of his colleagues ; but if all the retiring Ministers refused to thus endorse the nomination of the new President of the Council there would probably be a deadlock, the law making no provision for the case. Here we have then what in England would be called a constitutional practice growing up side by side with a written Constitution. Again, the law is silent on the powers of the President of the Republic to dismiss a ministry, so an unwritten theory has here also to be applied to the effect that the President cannot make his Ministers resign so long as they retain the confidence of the majority in the popular chamber. But on the Seize Mai the ministry dismissed by the Marshal had a great majority in the Chamber, and his arbitrary disregard for it was, from the English point of view, an unconstitu-

[1] December 13, 1877.

[2] Usually the Keeper of the Seals, or the retiring Prime Minister.

tional act. Yet contemporary records show that amid all the passion roused by this *coup d'état*, it was rarely suggested that the President had acted unconstitutionally, though his action was notoriously due to the advice of a small band of irresponsible counsellors unknown to the Constitution. Indeed, Gambetta, the rival champion of MacMahon in this crisis, said in all sincerity on the morrow of the event, "No one can deny the President's loyalty to the Constitution."[1] This indicates precisely the difference between the English and the French conception of loyalty to a Constitution.[2] The British sovereign might adhere to the letter of the written law, and yet be guilty of unconstitutional conduct: the chief of the French Executive, so long as he adheres to the letter of the written law, is not accounted disloyal to the Constitution, even by his enemies.

The turbulence of the debates at Versailles when the Chamber reassembled did not favour calm juridical discussion, and few of the speakers[3] referred to the constitutional aspect of the crisis. Gambetta during the adjournment had said, "The struggle is more profound than a mere combat for the Constitution. The struggle is between the old castes, with their privileges of a bygone régime, between the agents of the theocracy of Rome, and the sons of 1789."[4] This language, stripped

[1] Chambre des Députés, 17 Mai, 1877.

[2] Certain Constitutional authorities of our colonies do not take quite this view. They justify a governor, the representative of the British sovereign, who would dismiss a ministry possessing a majority in the representative Assembly, provided that he believed that the electorate would give a majority to the new minister called to office, and this practice seems to be justified, as constitutional, by Secretaries of State.

[3] M. Jules Ferry dealt with it: Chambre des Députés, 18 Juin, 1877.

[4] Discours à la Députation de la Jeunesse des écoles: 1 Juin, 1877.

of rhetoric, expressed the opinion of both parties in the contest. The Seize Mai was a political and not a constitutional crisis. The question at issue was not whether the President of the Republic should have the right to override the majority of the popular chamber, but whether the Republic should continue to exist. That the Republicans have never, during their subsequent predominance, amended the Constitution by limiting the powers of the President in dismissing or choosing his Ministers, shows that the Seize Mai was an attempt to change the political form of government rather than to enlarge the prerogative of the Chief of the State. The comparative experience of the methods of Marshal MacMahon and of Louis Napoleon proved to France that a *coup d'état*, to be effective, requires armed force which no constitutional enactments can guard against.

The pretension assumed by the President to dismiss a Minister for carrying or accepting a resolution in the popular chamber bears little analogy to the right of veto on legislation exercised by certain constitutional rulers, though the President has a power resembling that of veto. He can, after the passing of a bill in the two Chambers, by a message to them insist on a further deliberation on it.[1] This right cannot be applied to any measure revising the Constitution, and therefore affecting the President's own position, as the National Assembly convoked for a congress of revision is dissolved the moment it has voted its amendments of the Constitution: thus, as a message cannot be addressed to a body which has ceased to exist, the President has no means of demanding a second deliberation upon measures relating to himself.

[1] L.C. 16 Juillet, 1875, art. 7.

The *coup d'état* of the Seize Mai was condemned by all Europe from its inception. Even had it produced a reactionary majority it is hard to see what would have been done with it, for the Comte de Chambord had still six years to live, so a Restoration was not practical, and MacMahon had neither the ambition nor the unscrupulousness to institute a military dictatorship. Its chief effects were to prove again to the country the incompetence of the Monarchists, and, by associating in the public mind the Church with this abortive attempt, to provoke reprisals from the anti-clericals when they got the upper hand, the bitterness of which still lingers in the land. After the submission of Marshal MacMahon, Gambetta sagaciously expressed the wish that he should be allowed to complete his term, so that the peaceful transmission of his powers to a duly elected successor might display the advantage of Republican rule over the other régimes of the century, under which all reigns but one had come to a violent end.[1] But the old soldier found himself isolated, and in January, 1879, he made a difference of opinion on a military question an excuse for resigning, when M. Jules Grévy, the President of the Chamber, was elected to succeed him by the National Assembly, which thus met for the first time under the provisions of the Constitutional Law.[2]

III

M. Grévy's first presidential term presents few points of constitutional interest. Abuse of prerogative was not to be feared from the grave leader of the bar, who, under

[1] Discours à Romans, 18 Septembre, 1878.
[2] L.C. 25 Février, 1875, art. 2, 7.

the Empire, had been pointed out to young Republicans as the author of the amendment to the Constitution of 1848 which, if carried, would have prevented the Coup d'État of 1851.[1] After that event his abstention from militant politics, and on the 4th of September, 1870, his refusal to join the Government of National Defence because it was the offspring of revolution, showed him to be a person of calm ambitions. But though, even before the war, he was spoken of as a possible President of the Republic, he only attained the high office by a series of chances, being chosen on the refusal of M. Dufaure to be nominated, and practically on the proposition of Gambetta. The latter, indisposed to hurry to the Presidency of the Republic, was ready to accept the Premiership of M. Grévy's first ministry, but assured by his rivals, of whom the new President of the Republic was the most jealous, that time was not yet ripe for him nominally to direct the affairs of the country, he accepted the Presidency of the Chamber. In that position he wielded immense power without responsibility; but it was a situation of self-effacement, and M. Grévy's intrigues, which kept him there, form a striking instance of the influence of a President of the Republic on the destinies of France. Some there are who ascribe to this initial policy of M. Grévy the errors, the divisions, and the scandals which have marked the history of the Republic, of which, then intact and of clean record, the vigour and popularity of Gambetta might have been the columns of support and adornment. Such a lament implies that had

[1] The amendment was to the effect that the Second Republic should not have a President, the executive power being delegated by the National Assembly to the President of the Council of Ministers.

Gambetta been given a free hand to govern France he would not have died, and thus it falls into the category of regrets which attend the cutting off in their prime of all lives of potential rulers in a land of revolutions, and are as futile as those inspired by the untimely tombs of the Duc de Berry and of the Duc d'Orléans, of the King of Rome and of the Prince Imperial. M. Grévy's first three Prime Ministers — MM. Waddington, de Freycinet, and Ferry — were men of high ability: but by deliberately keeping out of office, until an unfavourable moment, the one man capable of uniting a strong majority, the President of the Republic perpetuated the vicious system, no longer inevitable as it had been under the confused régime of Marshal MacMahon, of short-lived ministries representing groups.

In thus effacing a personality which gave promise of overshadowing every other in France, M. Grévy was aided by Gambetta's rivals. The astute veteran, who had bided his time since 1848, thought that as the office, the creation of which he had opposed a generation before, had by the irony of chance devolved on him, it would be ingratitude to fate if he did not occupy it for the rest of his days. The Republic was quite willing, when Gambetta was dead, that M. Grévy should be President for life, the system of short-lived ministries having effectually discredited in turn the reputation of every prominent politician. In December, 1885, the National Assembly met under the provision of the Constitution that a month before the legal term of the powers of the President the two Chambers shall unite to fill the office for another seven years.[1] The question was raised of

[1] L.C. 25 Février, 1875, art. 2, et 16 Juillet, 1875, art. 3.

the competence of members to discuss the candidates, there being no statutory regulations controlling the procedure of the Congress. It was ruled that the sole function of the National Assembly, convoked to elect a President of the Republic, was to give its votes without debate or discourse; and M. Grévy was reappointed, practically without opposition.

M. Grévy commenced his second term of office on January 31, 1886, with every prospect of ending his days as President of the Republic; but at that very moment he had about him two men of widely different types, one in the Council Chamber and the other on his domestic hearth, who were destined to make abortive the experiment of a second septennate vested in the same hands. He had entrusted the forming of his tenth ministry to M. de Freycinet, who thus becoming Prime Minister for the third time gave the portfolio of War to General Boulanger. The apparition in politics of that phenomenal figure caused a complete revolution in the spirit of the French population, which, restless and ready for change, would have remodelled the form of government and the functions of its President, had its new leader possessed qualities adequate to the occasion offered to him. The acclamation of the Minister of War by the people of Paris on the national fête; his popularity in the army; the jealousies of his colleagues in two ministries; his passage from the position of nominee of the Radicals to that of protector of the Royalists, all contributed to agitate the public mind; so when he came into conflict with the Government, and moreover declared for revision of the Constitution, the growing discontent regarding the Presidency of the Re-

public seemed likely, with his aid, to overwhelm that office. M. Grévy, in spite of his re-election, was not popular. His distaste for ostentation and his thrifty mode of life were ascribed to a frugal parsimony, which, praiseworthy in the French peasant stock from which he sprang, and a chief source of the national wealth, is unbecoming when unduly practised by the official head of a great and brilliant nation. While the dazzling contrast of the unofficial leader was aggravating the discontent of the critics, who declared that the President was amassing a fortune out of the public income bestowed upon him to embellish his office, it was discovered that the decoration of the Legion of Honour had been made an object of traffic; and one of the persons most implicated in the scandal was the son-in-law of M. Grévy, M. Wilson, an Opportunist deputy and a former Under-Secretary of State, who resided at the Élysée and made use of the presidential residence as a bureau for his transactions.

Consequently public opinion, which was brought home to M. Grévy by the refusal of successive politicians to form a new ministry so long as he retained his post, forced him to resign two years after his second election. The date of his message to the Chambers, announcing his reluctant decision, might have reminded General Boulanger, philandering at that crisis in a village inn in Auvergne, that the chance of a *coup d'état* does not recur on every 2d of December;[1] but though that

[1] The advocate-general in his indictment of General Boulanger before the High Court (August 9, 1889) charged him with conspiring in Paris on December 2, 1887, while, as a matter of fact, he was on that date hiding with his mistress at the Hôtel des Marronniers at Royat.

incomplete hero declined to attempt the seizure of the supreme power then or on subsequent favourable occasions, the election of a new President was materially influenced by his disturbing presence in the land. There were three prominent candidates: M. de Freycinet, thrice, and M. Jules Ferry, twice Prime Minister, and M. Floquet, the Radical President of the Chamber. M. Ferry, in spite of his intolerant policy towards the Church, had failed to retain the favour of the Extreme Left, and the military reverses in Tonkin under his second Ministry had made his unpopularity general. His old colleague, M. de Freycinet, was a more adroit politician, and these two competitors were said to be united by a bond stronger than that of official association — their former jealousy of Gambetta. Before his death neither had supported him, but when his welcome disappearance cleared the way for smaller men, they borrowed his doctrine and became his rival successors. M. Floquet had not yet been a Minister. He had been Préfet of the Seine under Gambetta, and was a kinsman of M. Ferry, but it was as a Radical leader that he had been conspicuous ever since the day he left the National Assembly in 1871 rather than support the Versailles Government in suppressing the Commune.

It is important to notice the prominence of these candidates for the Presidency at the first contested election for that exalted post, as displaying how the attainment of political eminence under the Third Republic invariably entails the loss of public esteem and the ill-will of political colleagues. M. Ferry seemed to have the strongest chances for a curious reason. As he was supported by the moderate Republicans the adherence of the Reactionaries would

have assured him the requisite absolute majority in the Congress; and the Reactionaries were willing to vote for him in the belief that his election would produce civil war, so bitter was the hatred of the Radicals for him in the Chamber, at the Hôtel de Ville, and in the street. General Boulanger's wish was to secure a President who would recall him to the Ministry of War, where he could mature his plans, and M. de Freycinet and M. Floquet were both so certain of being chosen that each secretly intimated to him the position he would hold after the election. M. Clemenceau, who till then had wasted his brilliant talents as a destroyer and a maker of ministries, now further glorified his faculty of deposition and of investiture by deciding, in the language of English sport, that the great prize should be won not by a favourite but by an outsider.[1]

The Radicals seeing that they could not carry M. de Freycinet, their candidate after the retirement of M. Floquet, accepted the advice of M. Clemenceau. Consequently, at the National Assembly on December 3, 1887, after an indecisive first ballot, M. Carnot was elected by three-fourths of the suffrages of the electoral college. A legend arose that the Assembly, filled with shame for the iniquity of M. Wilson, called to mind an act of probity of M. Carnot when he was Minister of Finance, and wonderstruck at the spectacle of virtue unsullied by the contact of politicians, hailed him as the upright man to save the civic honour. The story cannot be substantiated. No

[1] "Tout plutôt que la guerre civile," répliqua M. Clemenceau, "prenons donc un outsider, Brisson ou Carnot." This is the version of M. Clemenceau's words, which practically settled the destinies of France, as given in the compilation entitled *Les Coulisses du Boulangisme*. That work is not an accurate record of contemporary history, but I have heard from one of the persons present that this was the expression used by M. Clemenceau.

doubt the act of integrity was quoted and utilised as a proof of M. Carnot's fitness to hold high office in corrupt times; but, as a matter of history, his presidency of the French Republic was conceived in a newspaper office by a conclave of wire-pullers and journalists who had little sympathy for his virtues.

When M. Carnot's election became inevitable, not only was his high character recognised but also the eminence of his name; so when the choice of the Assembly was announced, its members arose and saluted with cheers the father of the new President, himself a senator, old Hippolyte Carnot, acclaimed at Versailles as the son of the Organiser of Victory, handing on a famous name to adorn the chief magistracy fallen into disrepute, and thus to raise the credit of France before Europe.

Not that hereditary military genius or ambition was imputed to M. Sadi Carnot. The very suspicion of it would have alarmed the Assembly, already perturbed at the ominous popularity of a uniform. Indeed the politician chiefly responsible for the choice cynically declared that he had furthered the nomination of M. Carnot because of his "perfect insignificance." M. Clemenceau merely meant that the inheritor of a name not only renowned but appealing to democratic tradition had, when called to the Council of Ministers, performed his duties with self-effacing modesty, thus escaping the odium which is in France the swift penalty of conspicuousness. He was of the type which, happily numerous, is the salvation of the country, though rarely found in political circles — the type of Frenchman never talked about in the newspapers — industrious, cultivated, scrupulous, and unobtrusive. He suddenly attained the supreme power at a

moment when, owing to the causes of M. Grévy's fall, it had become the practice to publicly criticise the most intimate details of the lives of the inmates of the Élysée; but under the scrutiny of would-be libellers he afforded no occasion for reproach. The years that he was President of the Republic were unexampled in France, even at times of revolution, for the bitterness of political passion and the ferocious licence of the press. The Decorations scandal, the Boulangist movement, and the Panama affair filled the entire period with scurrility and recrimination. If a political leader offended an opponent the whole of his past existence was laid bare, and strong men were driven from public life, not for errors or crimes committed in their public capacity or condemned by tribunals of the law, but because they had incurred the fury of a journalist who disinterred the secret of a youthful offence.

To have occupied unscathed the most conspicuous position in the land, while it was swept by tempestuous seasons of disloyalty and of delation, was a striking testimony to the blamelessness of a life which was singularly consistent. While the nephew of Bonaparte was unsteadily throned at the Tuileries, the grandson of Lazare Carnot, commencing his career as an engineer like his ancestor, had established his first simple home on a Savoyard roadside, in the region once a trophy of the Organiser of Victory and now almost the sole title to glory of the Second Empire. His subsequent passage through ministries where office was unblushingly regarded as a source of wealth or a stepping-stone to dictatorship[1] brought out the same qualities of diligence,

[1] It was during the third Freycinet administration in 1886, in which

conscientiousness, and modesty which he had displayed when building bridges at Annecy. As President of the Republic the worst faults his critics could find in him were his precision of dress, or his ceremonious rigidity of form, which were only expressions of his desire to fill his office with becoming dignity and never to depart from constitutional reserve. M. Carnot was not perhaps a great man, but he was the worthy bearer of a great name, thus showing himself the possessor of a faculty rare in all countries.

In the year before his death there were two ministerial crises in which M. Carnot was accused of having taken an excessive part. It was the sixth year of his Presidency, and the question of his re-election being already debated, the opponents of the renewal of his power pointed out that one disadvantage of a long term of office was that it induced the President to impose his personal views in the conduct of affairs. In the spring of 1893 the Ribot Cabinet fell. As the general elections were to take place in August, the chances were that the Cabinet chosen in April would last until then, the average life of a ministry being eight months. Thus the new Minister of the Interior would probably "make the elections," a process which, involving the manipulation of all the centralised machinery of France, is attractive to politicians. The previous elections, in 1889, when Boulangism was still a force, had been adroitly supervised

M. Carnot was for the second time Minister of Finance, that the Minister of Public Works (an office which M. Carnot had held in two previous Cabinets) committed the acts in connection with the Panama Loans which subsequently resulted in his being sent to penal servitude; and General Boulanger was in the same Government, for the first time Minister of War.

by M. Constans, and the friends of that enigmatic statesman pressed his name on the notice of the President, who, disregarding them, called upon M. Dupuy to form a cabinet. The friends of M. Constans compared M. Carnot with Louis XIV., and M. Dupuy, a school-master turned politician, superintended the elections, which took place amid the profound indifference of the nation.

The result of the polls threw little light upon the feeling of the electorate, regarding either the President or his Ministers, or the legislative needs of the country, and the Dupuy Cabinet, having survived almost the traditional eight months, was defeated, for no particular reason, on the reassembling of the new Chamber, and resigned. The crisis which ensued was prolonged owing, it was said, to the attitude of M. Carnot. He was accused of opposing the will of the majorities in the two Chambers in trying to call to power a ministry agreeable to certain groups whose votes he wished to secure in the National Assembly at the presidential election a year later. Abroad as well as in France, the comment was made that, contrary to the usage in constitutional governments, the head of the French Executive seemed not only to have a policy of his own, but to claim the right to impose it on his ministers. That the President was intriguing with a view to re-election we shall see was false. That he was essaying to dictate the composition of a ministry is probably true only in the sense that in the formation of his ninth Cabinet in six years, he felt that his experience made him the most competent person in France to give general advice on the choice of ministers likeliest to serve the interests of the nation. The comments made abroad on M. Carnot's alleged un-

constitutional attitude showed that outside France the impression prevails that parliamentary government in that country bears some resemblance to the British institution after which it was modelled; so after a general election it might be thought that the defeat of a Prime Minister in the new Chamber signified that the electorate was discontented with him and with his policy, and desired to see another statesman at the head of affairs whose name, having been re-echoed in every polling-booth, was indicated to the Chief of the Executive.

As a matter of fact, the constituencies, excepting at an election of quasi-plebiscitary character, such as those conducted by Gambetta before and after the Seize Mai, or such as that of 1889 might have been but for General Boulanger's flight, never take into consideration the name of any man nor the merits of any policy. During the elections of 1893 no one ever heard of the Prime Minister or of his successor, M. Casimir-Périer, any more than of his predecessors, MM. Ribot and Loubet; and when M. Dupuy was dismissed from office on the assembling of the new Chamber, it did not mean that he had lost the confidence of the country, for he had never had it in the sense in which the word is understood in England. The country was neither pleased nor displeased either when he resigned office in November, 1893, or when he became Prime Minister again in May, 1894. Considering that each successive ministry in France, under the present régime, is only a temporary expedient doomed to give way in most cases to another similar combination a few months later, far from it being unconstitutional for a President to give the Prime Minister of his choice the benefit of his wisdom in the

selection of his colleagues, it seems to be distinctly his duty to act as M. Carnot did. At the same time it is futile duty, for whatever quarter of the Chamber a ministry is recruited from, and whatever influences are used to include one group of politicians or to exclude another, the result is the same; the ministry, in nine cases out of ten, lasts for less than a year, and the identical process has then to be repeated. Unless, therefore, a President contemplates a *coup d'état*, a project which the most reckless of M. Carnot's critics never imputed to him, he would study his own comfort better by consenting to remain a passive figure-head raised above the petty strife of recurring ministerial crises.

When M. Casimir-Périer finally consented to form a ministry on the sixth anniversary of M. Carnot's election, another charge was brought against the latter, which is worth noticing in our examination of the nature of the President's attributes. We have seen that Frenchmen have reason for believing that the tenure of high ministerial office is the ruin of reputation and of popularity. M. Casimir-Périer, whose election to the Presidency of the Chamber showed that he had favourably impressed his colleagues with his hereditary abilities, was marked out as a possible President of the Republic; so when M. Carnot pressed upon him the Premiership, the sagacious exclaimed that this was the way that M. Grévy had got rid of Gambetta; but the uncharitable sages who imputed similar guile to M. Carnot, only showed how valueless are precedent and analogy in French political forecast. M. Casimir-Périer became Prime Minister, and failed to remain in office for even half a year; yet a month after his dismissal this defeated Minister was

elected to succeed the President, struck down by an assassin. It remained for one of his colleagues to clear the memory of M. Carnot from the imputation of an ignoble wile. M. Spuller, Gambetta's Under-Secretary at the Quai d'Orsay in 1881, became Minister of Education in the Casimir-Périer Cabinet, after declining to form a ministry himself. Thus brought into confidential relations with the President, he heard from his lips that he had definitely resolved to refuse a nomination for a second term, on constitutional as well as on personal grounds. These words, spoken privily and not for public effect, were given to the world at the moment when, had he been let live, M. Carnot would have resumed the character of a private citizen, which he knew how to illustrate as well as the highest civic rank.[1]

IV

Three days after M. Carnot's murder at Lyons M. Casimir-Périer became President of the Republic. Although the sudden vacancy in June, 1894, was not anticipated, the approaching term of the septennate was preparing men's minds for a presidential election, and it was thought that if M. Carnot did not stand M. Casimir-Périer would be the strongest candidate. No one was surprised, therefore, that he obtained an absolute majority in the National Assembly at the first ballot. M. Brisson indeed on this occasion secured nearly two hundred votes, and the Socialists who supported that austere politician afterwards denounced the new President as the elect of the Reactionaries; but if all the Reactionary votes

[1] *Au Ministère de l'Instruction Publique,* par Eugène Spuller, 1894.

had been transferred to M. Brisson, M. Casimir-Périer would still have headed the poll. He thus commenced his Presidency, the nominee not of a mere coalition but supported by the majority of Republicans.

Like M. Carnot the new President was the representative of a distinguished name. A family which in our country had been eminent and wealthy as long as the Périers have been in France, would have attained a high rank in the peerage. When, before the Revolution, they became great landowners there were English families, now of ducal rank, only just emerging from the class of country squires. The owner of the Château of Vizille, where the Assembly of the États du Dauphiné in 1788 preluded the meeting of the States-General at Versailles, had a brother who died an archbishop under Louis XVIII., one son who was a peer of France, and another Prime Minister under Louis Philippe. The son of that statesman was an ambassador, and was the father of the President of 1894. Nevertheless, such are the peculiarities of the French social scale that this family, which was of high consideration when the ancestors of the nobility of the First Empire and of the Restoration were in many cases of humble condition, was regarded as being the type and pattern of the French bourgeoisie.

The French bourgeois has fallen on evil days. After having made the Revolution of 1789, and repeating it, in miniature, in 1830 with ampler profit to himself, he no longer enjoys public prestige at the close of the nineteenth century. The descendants of the revolutionary possessors of national property, and even of the men of the July Monarchy, sometimes style themselves "sons of the crusaders"; whereas their less prosperous kinsmen,

who regard politics as a swift road to fortune, court universal suffrage in the guise of "sons of peasants." The scions of the middle-classes, ennobled by Napoleon and the restored Bourbons, are as disdainful of the bourgeoisie as are the representatives of the courtiers and the lawyers of the Old Régime; while at the other end of the scale the Radical Socialists, like the Anarchists, use "bourgeois" as a term of reprobation to designate men who do not get their living by manual toil or by agitation. A "labour" member of the House of Commons once related to me his experiences at a Trade Union Congress in Paris. He said that he had gone to France entirely ignorant of the language, but to his last day he should never forget one word repeated in every sentence of the French delegates' speeches with every intonation of hatred and contempt — the word "bourgeois." This estimable Englishman, though representing thousands of working men, was in appearance and in mode of thought a typical bourgeois, from the French point of view — as dissimilar to his as the Carmagnole, with which his French colleagues terrified him, was to the pious exercises which he was wont to conduct at his Sunday School at home.

It is necessary to understand this point, which will be referred to again, in order to comprehend the force of the attacks upon M. Casimir-Périer from the morrow of his election, when the possession of an honoured name, associated with the conquest of popular liberty, was turned into a reproach. It is typical of the insignificance into which the French noblesse has fallen, that the old denunciation of "aristocrat" was rarely used by his assailants. Occasionally a sneer at his kinship with persons bearing titles, or at his support by the Royalists in the Congress, was

heard, or a suggestion that as the Orleanists had become Legitimists, so would the grandson of Louis Philippe's Minister receive the Ancient Régime; but for the most part the representative of a family proud of a century and a half of high renown in the bourgeoisie was made the victim of the artificial antipathy with which the modern school of socialism regards that class. M. Casimir-Périer was not, however, denounced by theoretical objectors to the bourgeois principle solely because of his ancestral connection with the middle-class Monarchy of July. He was one of the owners of a coal-field notorious for its strikes, and it was as a capitalist that day after day he was made the object of attacks moulded by the Socialist leaders in form to please every sect of discontent, from the anti-semites and anarchists of the century's end, to the inheritors of the doctrine of the Jacobins.

M. Casimir-Périer was the victim of the vain theory of the impersonality of the President. His predecessor, though he studied to efface himself in his office, could not make it forgotten for a day that he was the grandson of "Père la Victoire," and the grandson of the Minister of 1831 was marked out as a possible President long before the tragedy of Lyons, because he too bore a historic name with conspicuous force of character. It was therefore by a curious inconsistency that the possession of that name chiefly made his position untenable. Beneath an exterior of resolute sturdiness, he had not the calm temperament, free from self-consciousness, of M. Carnot, essential for the chief of a democracy which is not strikingly qualified to use the privilege of unlicenced printing. His habit, therefore, of perusing the journals containing gross libels on his character and incitements to violence

kept constantly before his eyes the causes which might render him unpopular. Thus he was driven into resigning his office after six months' tenure of it, because it was evident that, however constitutionally he discharged its functions, public opinion refused to contemplate the possibility of a President of the Republic being an impersonal head of the State. Whether he committed an unpatriotic blunder, or saved the country from civil war by hastily descending from the summit of Republican ambition as soon as he had attained it, we need not discuss. The probability is that his brief experience led him to the conclusion, not rare in France, that the Presidency is a vain office, and that within certain limits it does not matter who occupies it; but that in face of the national tendency to invest its occupant with distinctive attributes, it is better that it should be filled by a citizen of unemphatic character and unsensitive temperament.

Had the Chamber given him the support due to a constitutional Chief of the State from the representatives of the nation, he might have endured until his persecutors were weary; but the popular House gave him to understand that it had no intention of protecting the President from outrage. For defaming M. Casimir-Périer in a Socialist print a journalist had been tried and sent to prison. Forthwith a turbulent quarter of Paris sent him to Parliament, and a motion was proposed in the Chamber for his release, involving the reversal of a sentence duly passed by a judicial tribunal. The motion, instead of being opposed by all excepting the small Socialist group, was defeated by only a slender majority. It was not merely a disposition to encourage contempt for the Chief of the State that induced the Chamber so nearly to vote

impunity to his defamer. It is the constant tendency of the French legislature to arrogate the functions of a Convention and to override the principle of the separation of the powers — a sure sign of the unsuitableness of parliamentary institutions or the French national character. A further attempt in the same direction, when the majority of the Chamber voted for the revision of a judgment of the Conseil d'État in the matter of certain State agreements with the railway companies, caused the retirement of the second Dupuy ministry, and M. Casimir-Périer seized the occasion of this crisis to address to the Presidents of the Houses of Legislature a letter resigning his high office, indicating some of the reasons why he found its further custody intolerable.[1] The general purport of the message was that the President had too many responsibilities and not enough powers. The Socialists' comment upon it was that there was logically no middle course between the abolition of the presidency and its conversion into a dictatorship ; a dilemma which would be irresistible if logic had any relation with the science of government.

Even when a presidential election is imminent, nothing occurs resembling the preliminary campaign of candidates for the presidency of the United States. When, therefore, a vacancy suddenly occurred six years before the country anticipated a change, to fill it in forty-eight hours was necessarily a matter of hazard. M. Brisson was at the disposal of the nation for the fourth time, but the belief that he was now favoured by the Socialists did not improve his chances. The most serious competitors seemed to be M. Waldeck-Rousseau and M. Godefroy Cavaignac. The former, an advocate of talent, had been

[1] January 15, 1895.

called to the Ministry of the Interior at an early age by Gambetta, when older men refused to serve in the Grand Ministère, and again in the second Ferry Cabinet, which survived the phenomenal span of two years. Subsequently he had withdrawn from active politics, and having been professionally retained in the Panama trials, it was thought that he possibly possessed, for an impartial Chief of the State, too intimate a knowledge of the character of politicians who might be designated for ministerial rank. M. Cavaignac, had he been chosen to succeed M. Carnot and M. Casimir-Périer, would have established a tradition that the presidency was reserved for members of dynasties which had served the commonwealth since the Revolution. The grandson, like M. Carnot, of a regicide member of the Convention, he was the son of the General who had his hour of glory and popularity before his defeat by Louis Bonaparte at the plebiscite for the presidency in 1848; and as a boy he had dramatically defied the Second Empire when, at a public distribution of prizes, he refused to accept a laurel wreath from the hands of the Prince Imperial. Had the Presidency been vacant two years earlier he would have been called by acclamation to fill it, for during the debates on the Panama scandal in 1893, when public opinion was discomforted by the withdrawal from justice of the most prominent politicians involved in it, he made a speech at the Palais Bourbon expressing with such sober eloquence the prevailing sentiment of outraged honesty of the bulk of the French nation, that the Chamber with enthusiasm ordered it to be placarded in every commune of France.[1] The triumph was too conspicuous. Had M. Carnot's

[1] February 8, 1893.

meritorious probity when Minister of Finance received equal attention and applause, it would have drawn down upon him the jealousy which closed the gates of the Élysée upon M. Cavaignac.

V

The choice of the National Assembly, convoked at Versailles on January 17, 1895, fell on M. Félix Faure, and it is probable that on the previous New Year's Day, even in Paris, in the heart of political life, not one person in a thousand knew him even by name, although he was Minister of Marine. It does not follow in France that because a public man is unknown to the public he is therefore obscure. It is true that in the frequent changes of Cabinets many politicians, who flit through ministerial office without leaving a trace of their passage, are obscure men; but aptitude and talent in Ministers are sometimes unrecognised, so profound is the indifference of the French public for the machinery of government. M. Faure belonged to a class unfortunately rare in France, that of the successful and intelligent man of business, who takes an active part in politics. With a few well-known exceptions, the representatives in Parliament of the great commercial centres of France are generally doctors, lawyers, professors, and journalists; but the electors of Havre are wont to delegate their interests to their substantial citizens, and if M. Félix Faure was unknown to the French nation, he enjoyed the best graces of his fellow-townsmen. Eight months before his elevation to the supreme power, though twelve years earlier he had been an Under-Secretary, he had

never attained Cabinet rank, which is not difficult of access under the Third Republic; or perhaps one ought rather to say that it is difficult of access for business men of solid qualities who help to keep France in the van of nations, and countervail the passing pranks of professional politicians in the ministries.

The sudden apparition of a President of this unwonted type, who represented no dynastic hierarchy like his immediate predecessors, no doctrinaire tradition like M. Grévy, who had neither the military prestige of Marshal MacMahon nor the European renown of M. Thiers, took the fancy of the public. An agreeable presence, gracing a blithe alertness in performing his novel functions with unaffected joy, made M. Faure a popular hero before the detractors of M. Casimir-Périer had time to realise that he was a member of the same oppressive and selfish class. The antipathies of the French public are short-lived, excepting in the case of persons held responsible for military disaster, like Napoleon III., and, in a smaller way, M. Jules Ferry. Had M. Casimir-Périer not resigned, the violence of his persecutors would have caused a reaction in his favour, for the daily baiting of the President had become wearisome, and the populace of Paris was ready to beckon on the nation to hail with enthusiasm any occupant of the presidential chair; for the yearning of the French to acclaim a chief is chronic.

When the improvised popularity of the new President became a national creed, the dethroners of his predecessor felt that their position as leaders of thought was imperilled by the ascendancy of another bourgeois. That term, though its meaning is less definite than when,

under the Old Régime, it connoted the men of the great mediate class which, without privilege or rank, had office and wealth, has in modern times a signification much clearer than any approximate English synonym. Now that the noblesse no longer exists, and the clergy is no longer an estate, while the passage of the whole nation through the army has abolished the military caste, every one is a bourgeois who does not gain his living by the labour of his hands: though Socialist writers extend, as we have seen, the non-bourgeois ranks in order to include themselves, by defining the bourgeois as one who does not earn his bread either by manual toil or by agitation. But at whichever end of the social scale we artificially limit the bourgeois class, either by counting as proletarians politicians who utilise the blouse as a lucrative symbol rather than as an article of apparel, or by adopting the fiction that an order of nobles still exists in France, no elimination can ever exclude from the bourgeoisie the respectable section of society which M. Félix Faure has illustrated. This would seem to be obvious to all the world; but when it was seen that a capitalist and an employer of labour was winning the good graces of all grades of society, it was clear that if his success could not be checked it ought to be expounded.

An authorised spokesman of the Radical party was M. Pochon, the deputy for Bourg-en-Bresse, and he had a further title to speak in the name of the population as President of the Conseil-Général of the department of the Ain, which stretches from Lyons to Geneva. At its first meeting after the election of M. Faure he thus moralised: "We have the right from past experience to beware of the bourgeoisie, which has learned nothing

from the lessons of this century. It was no longer possible for us Republicans to allow that class to resume the direction of public affairs, after our unlucky essay with a president whose family was known to history. That was why the democracy chose in its own ranks the successor of M. Casimir-Périer, convinced that M. Félix Faure would never belie his origin."[1]

Now a Frenchman who denies that M. Félix Faure is a member of the bourgeoisie is capable of anything. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that the stern democrat, who boasted that the people in their distrust of the bourgeois class had elevated one of themselves to the chief magistracy, was not only a bourgeois himself but had done all in his power to prevent M. Faure's election. At Versailles M. Faure was opposed by M. Pochon and his group as a danger to the democracy, and they voted to a man for a genuine son of toil, M. Brisson, whose father was an attorney at Bourges and who was himself a member of the Parisian bar. The malcontents unable to carry their own candidate, and knowing that the country was tired of presidential unpopularity, accepted with disingenuous grace the success obtained by the new President as the triumph of their doctrine. It is therefore necessary to examine closely M. Faure's proletarian titles.

The timorous, who dread the advent to power of the democracy, will be reassured at knowing that the Radical-Socialists proclaim M. Faure to be by his life and origin its incarnation. His parents, though not rich, had not to labour with their hands, and the future President, instead of being educated at a public elementary school as

[1] *Conseil-Général de l'Ain, Séance de l'ouverture,* 22 *Avril,* 1895.

befitted a son of the people, was sent first to a suburban college of some pretension, and later to England to learn the language. On his return, being apprenticed to a tanner at Amboise, he wore a workman's costume, as the sons of the rich often do when learning a business practically. He then married the heiress of a wealthy man who died a senator, and placing his capital at Havre, he attained social and commercial rank in that seaport, after the war taking a valiant part in the suppression of the Commune with a vigour not calculated to endear him to the revilers of the bourgeoisie. The theoretical objectors to the bourgeois principle know very well that the strict application of their theories might uncomfortably affect their own position. They, therefore, arbitrarily label this public man as a bourgeois and that as a proletarian, without reference to his social rank or even his political views. A similar process was practised a hundred years before in Brittany, when the mere denunciation as a Chouan or a Jacobin, according as the Blues or Whites prevailed in the region, was a sentence of death; but M. Casimir-Périer, its most conspicuous victim in recent times, was driven to suicide rather than to execution by the new philosophers with their new definition.

All this tendency to classify each individual President is additional proof that it is contrary to the instincts of the nation to regard the Chief of the State as an impersonal figure representing France.[1] M. Félix Faure was

[1] M. Carnot had even to rebuke his fellow-citizens, who assumed the attitude of respectful subjects on his presidential journeys. At Chambéry on September 4, 1892, the anniversary of the foundation of the Republic, M. Horteur, Deputy and Chairman of the Conseil-Général, having referred to him in laudatory terms, the President replied: "Je vous remercie infiniment de l'hommage que vous rendez à la République, mais

the first President of the Republic who had no tradition connected with his name, but from the morrow of his election the Parisian press and public began to invest him with legend. The Provençal origin of his family provoked comparisons with that of M. Thiers; spirited controversies arose as to the precise site of his modest birthplace in an industrial quarter of the capital; his suburban school-master was made the subject of monographs; his practical method of learning the trade of a fellmonger produced the myth that he had begun life as a journeyman tanner, and portraits of a needlessly toil-stained workman were rapturously circulated; while for the satisfaction of the prosperous classes, and to show how fitted he was to impress foreign potentates with the amenity of France, anecdotes were related of his sporting prowess in Hungary, where his affability had inspired an innkeeper to foretell a brilliant future for him. In fact, all the lore that is formed around the founder of a dynasty was made ready as though this respectable merchant of Havre were a new Bonaparte.

VI

It is not possible that a country governed for centuries and grown great under the absolute sway of kings, which it only dispensed with to take refuge in the absolute rule of a military dictator, should realise that the Chief of the State does not govern. Thus we find the President

vous me voyez un peu peiné des éloges particuliers que vous m'avez adressés. Il n'y a pas d'homme en France, il n'y a que des institutions." Nevertheless when five years later another President visited that unemotional city the solitary cry of the calm spectators was, "Vive Félix Faure."

of the Republic, in the performance of the functions prescribed for him by the written Constitution, in the anomalous position of a Chief of the State whose name is kept constantly before the public in a manner unknown in constitutional monarchies; while he is subjected to unwritten restrictions of a puerile character intended to curb dictatorial aspirations, but only having the effect of attenuating the picturesqueness of Parisian life.

For example, the Constitution makes it his duty to preside at all national solemnities;[1] but if he were to repair to them in a gilded coach or on horseback and attired in a brilliant uniform, he would be accused of meditating a *coup d'état*, though the Constitution is silent regarding his apparel and his equipage. The President is thus constrained to review the troops at Longchamp on the 14th of July in a costume associated by Parisians, when they see it in the Bois de Boulogne, with the guests at the wedding feasts of the humbler classes, which are held in that pleasaunce. When, therefore, nature has endowed the Chief of the State with an unimposing presence, which requires tradition or attire to make it impressive, the precautions thus taken to prevent an individual obtaining too great an influence over the crowd sometimes defeat themselves. For the French public delights in *panache*, and when the nodding plumes and the gold lace are seen adorning a minor actor in the spectacle, the mob, which would have had no idea of acclaiming with kingly titles the President merely because he was strikingly arrayed, turns to the prancing captain, crying, "This is the hero who should have led our summer holiday." That was the origin of the

[1] L.C. 25 Février, 1875, art. 3.

Boulangist legend in 1886, when the democracy of the capital turned its back on the notarial decorum of M. Grévy to hail the glittering uniform which a showy charger bore down the Champs Élysées at the head of the garrison of Paris.

The prerogative of receiving the diplomatic representatives of the powers[1] is, on the other hand, a function, the importance of which the President is permitted to exaggerate. In a monarchy like England, when the sovereign receives a newly accredited envoy, he is welcomed with impressive dignity and sometimes with a cordiality enhanced from the kinship of his august master with our royal family; but the only knowledge the British public has or desires to have of the event is gathered from the abrupt *Court Circular* which records it in a single line between the monarch's daily promenades and the knighting of a provincial mayor. In Republican France, after an ambassador has been received at the Élysée, every citizen who has a sou to buy a newspaper can read every detail of the ceremonial as well as the discourses exchanged between the President of the Republic and the envoy of his royal or imperial colleague: their formality or warmth is discussed, and next day every politician from Brest to Marseilles founds forecasts of the future of Europe upon the recorded duration of the private conversation of the two personages, before the chief of the Protocole conveyed the new-comer back to his embassy. Again, it is the practice of crowned heads to notify to the rulers of the powers the births, marriages, and deaths which take place in their illustrious families. In our country no one outside the Court is aware of the

[1] L.C. 25 Février, 1875, art. 3.

custom; but in the French Republic, each time that the President receives such a notification, the journals announce it together with the text of his reply of congratulation or of condolence in a way to habituate the public to the idea that the position in the European hierarchy of their first citizen is similar to that of the Emperor Francis Joseph or of King Leopold.

French is not the language of diplomacy for nothing, and every citizen who takes an interest in affairs believes himself a master of the diplomatic art. Hence we find the opposite state of things to that which exists in England, where even in the capital the ardent politicians of the street, who criticise Home Secretaries and compare Chancellors of the Exchequer, know not the names of the envoys of France or of Germany within our gates, save at seasons of international commotion. The Boulevards are in equal ignorance regarding the personality of the Ministers of the Interior and of Finance, except at epochs of "parliamentary scandal," but the British or the Russian ambassador is a familiar Parisian institution.

This peculiar if superficial interest assumed by the French public in foreign relations is not sufficiently taken into account by those who deplore the extravagances of the inferior journals of the Boulevards in discussing exterior affairs; and it is the same popular instinct which is flattered by all that tends to put the President of the Republic on an equality with the sovereigns of other European nations. By the Constitution of 1875[1] he has the power to negotiate and to ratify treaties; but treaties of peace and of commerce, and those which affect the finances of the State, are only effective after being voted

[1] L.C. 16 Juillet, 1875, art. 8.

by the two Chambers. It is to be observed that treaties of alliance are not included among those which require the ratification of the Chambers, and during the long period of "understanding" between France and Russia the question was constantly discussed in the journals whether President Carnot had or had not actually concluded a treaty with the Tsar. The highest authorities declare that a treaty concluded thus secretly without communication to Parliament could not be very serious in its scope, as there are few treaties of alliance which do not in their result affect the finances of the contracting states.[1] There can be no doubt that, whatever its danger, the idea of the President treating with a sovereign, and especially with an autocratic monarch, without referring to the Chambers, is far from unpopular in France. The French love personal rule, and amid much that was unflattering to France in the Franco-Russian demonstrations before the death of M. Carnot, a sentiment of national pride was made manifest in the exaggerated pictures circulated of the President grouped with the Tsar, whom he never saw, which suggested that the Chief of the Republic counted for as much in the union of the two powers as the autocrat of Russia. This idea followed M. Carnot to the tomb, and Republicans, who believed that there was even then an alliance between

[1] Pierre, *Traité de Droit Politique :* "Des traités diplomatiques." The leading case of a treaty concluded by the President of the French Republic, under the Constitution of 1875, without the ratification of Parliament, is that of the Treaty of Berlin. The contracting parties were Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia, and Turkey. The Treaty bears the date of July 13, 1878 ; it was ratified by President MacMahon after the prorogation of the Chambers and promulgated in the *Journal Officiel* of September 6, 1878.

France and Russia, and that it was advantageous for France, took pains to perpetuate the legend that the transactions deemed to have brought France out of her isolation in Europe were the personal acts of the Chief of the State, who bore a name associated with bygone glories of French Republicanism carried beyond French frontiers.[1]

It is not the practice of the French to speak impersonally of "the President," even on occasions when, as Chief of the State, he is treated with greater ceremony and deference than a constitutional sovereign. When M. Carnot returned to Paris from his summer sojourns at Fontainebleau, or when M. Faure has come from Havre to preside at a meeting of the Cabinet, it has been the practice for the President of the Council and other Ministers to be in attendance at the railway terminus; though the English sovereign, when paying even a State visit to her capital, is, on alighting from the train, content with the welcome of the station-master. It is to be observed in the published record of these occasions that

[1] On the monument erected in memory of President Carnot at Nolay (Côte d'or), the birthplace of his grandfather the Organiser of Victory, eight dates and names of places are inscribed thus: "Limoges, 1837: Le Mans, 1870: Nolay, 1871: Versailles, 1887: Paris, 1889: Cronstadt, 1891: Toulon, 1893: Lyons, 1894," and they are said to summarise his life and achievements. Together with incidents in which he took the chief part, such as his birth, his death, and his succession to the Presidency, comes "Cronstadt, 1891" — a reference to the visit of the French fleet to a Russian port, which took place during the presidency of M. Carnot, while he was never within a thousand miles of the spot. It was supposed to be the first act of the Franco-Russian Alliance concluded by the President, and the visit of a French squadron to Russian waters was thus treated as a personal act of the President, as a visit by proxy. The inauguration of this monument was an official ceremony presided over by a Minister in September, 1895.

the Minister is generally designated by his office, while the President of the Republic is invariably referred to by name. Moreover his physiognomy, as well as his name and actions, is officially impressed on the imagination of every citizen of France, by means more effective than the unresembling effigies struck on coinage whereby loyal peoples are deceived regarding royal lineaments. If a humble subject of the Queen of England wishes to know the veritable features of his sovereign, he must purchase at his own cost her likeness; but in France the State forces every peasant and artisan to regard that of the President each time he votes at an election, or marries a wife, or registers a birth. The mairie is the centre of local life in rural villages and crowded towns alike, and after the new President has been escorted back from Versailles to Paris, the first act of the Minister of the Interior is to approach his new master with a humble prayer that he will cause his portrait to be taken in order that it may be reproduced, distributed, and exposed in the forty thousand communes of France and Algeria.

VII

It is a curious lesson in the vicissitudes of France and of her governors to visit, in a provincial mairie or in a prefecture where these works of art are more pretentious, not the official chamber, where the actual Chief of the Executive looks down from the walls on the acts of centralised administration performed within them, but the basement or the garret where the lumber of generations moulders in the dust. Here repose, undisturbed by revolutions, the portraits of all the past rulers of France since

the century was young. The latest of them never was exposed to view, for it only arrived the day M. Casimir-Périer startled the provinces with his resignation; the look of tenacity in his face belying the ease and swiftness with which his enemies made him climb down from power. The last picture that was hung presents the punctilious form of M. Carnot, attired in the correct black broadcloth set off with the ribbon of the national order, the unfailing subject for the mirth of wits, till the night the crimson of the Legion of Honour hid the stream of life-blood, when the President was murdered in his wonted costume in which too he was laid to rest in the Pantheon. The wily features of M. Grévy suggest the frugal virtues of the peasantry rather than integrity in high places, exemplified by Carnot, or the warlike gallantry of MacMahon. The Marshal's uniform, here presented, calls forth memories not of the Seize Mai, but of the return of the troops from Italy, when from the field of Magenta he brought back an almost forgotten title; it revives the names of Sebastopol, and of Malakoff, which, blazoned above the altar in the chapel of the Invalides the day of his burial, gave greater joy to the Crimean veterans than to the officers of Russia, whom France then was fêting in the vague hope of a renewal of her glories.

The next in the ghost-like series is M. Thiers, battered and faded; but the shrill visage, beneath the pugnacious crest, can never be mistaken, whether found in old prints, adorning early issues of his youthful history of the Revolution, or reproduced by Bonnat's genius half a century later, or here under the dust of twenty years. It is well preserved compared with the mildewed effigy which is behind. This is evidently copied from Hippolyte Flan-

drin's *Napoléon III.*, for dim in the background there is the outline of the bust of the great Emperor, and comparing the features or looking at the nebulous eyes of this dreamer in epaulettes, who quitted France at Sedan, one wonders if the songstress of the brave Dunois believed her son to be by blood a Bonaparte. Louis Philippe, blackened and crumbling, can just be recognised by the pear-shaped head of Gavarni's sketches. But the Revolution of July, which caused the diligence to bring his portrait to this country town, is more than two generations away, and the rats have left nothing but a phantom in the frame of his Most Christian cousin, whose portraits were better taken care of in the far-off days, when his kingly prospects were remote, when Drouais painted the little Comte d'Artois, while Louis XV. was installing Mme. du Barry at Versailles, and Marie Antoinette was learning French at Vienna. Yet this musty relic of Charles X. is interesting, for it was the official presentment of the only ruler of France, hereditary or republican, constitutional or plebiscitary, who, during a hundred and twenty years, has succeeded to the supreme Executive by the natural death or normal lapse of powers of his predecessor. No doubt there is little resemblance between the flight of Louis Philippe to Newhaven and the retirement of M. Grévy to the Avenue d'Iéna, but both those proceedings were abdications; and certainly it is the strongest argument in favour of the Republican form of government, that the abdication of the Chief of the Executive, which seems inevitable in France unless an assassin intervene, is effected under a Republic without revolution, its invariable accompaniment when a monarch is impelled to lay down his functions.

Two reflections an Englishman may make while disturbing the dust of this disowned gallery of once acclaimed French rulers. The one is that the sovereign whose subject he is at the century's close has witnessed the investiture and the destitution of all these monarchs and presidents within her lifetime; and even when her reign began, the first of the series, who had led the revels at Trianon for years before the Bastille fell, had only just ended his short exile at Goritz.[1] The other reflection is that while his own country has been spared convulsion during a century of revolution, and while one placid and prosperous reign has covered more than half of the span which lies between the Old Régime and the end of the nineteenth century, the variously denominated chiefs of the Executive in France, from Louis XVI. to M. Félix Faure, have been distinguished for excellent qualities, and if examined individually will compare favourably with any series of rulers during a like space of a hundred and twenty years in any government of ancient or modern times. There has never been another instance of empire, kingdom, or republic suffering so sorely for more than a century from internal vicissitudes where some of the rulers might not be classed by historians of forcible style as monsters or idiots. As none of the rulers of France during that period can impartially be thus designated, in spite of Victor Hugo's florid arraignments of Louis Napoleon, and the scorn of the old Orleanists for the mental faculties of Charles X., this seems to indicate that in the new era nations have to work out their own destiny. The

[1] Charles X., who was born in 1757, died on October 6, 1836, when the Queen was seventeen years of age, about eight months before she ascended the throne. His reign had lasted from September, 1824, to July, 1830.

gigantic figure of Napoleon stands apart, as a phenomenon which rises twice perhaps in a thousand years of the world's history. It may be it was the strength of his grip that made France unfit for the possession of men of ordinary stature and of limited powers, and though he was necessary for the reconstruction of the society swept down with the old royality, it was equally needful that he should have left a successor, the heir of his methods and his prowess. However that may be, the spectacle which France has repeatedly presented of misgovernment, of anarchy, or of revolution cannot be ascribed to the character of her rulers. M. Grévy narrowly escaped ending his term of office as boisterously as Charles X. ended his reign; yet there was nothing in common, either in personal temperament or in public policy, between the brother-in-law of Marie Antoinette and the father-in-law of M. Wilson. Nevertheless, but for the unreadiness of General Boulanger, and the fortuitous calling of M. Carnot, an insurrection would have accompanied the presidential crisis of 1887, as though it had been the downfall of a monarchy.

It is clear, therefore, that whatever the character of the Chief of the Executive, and whatever régime he represents, he is certain to incur, sooner or later, the discontent of a sufficient number of the French people to make his position untenable. Moreover, no two revolutionary movements in modern France can be ascribed to the same cause, whether they take the form of dethroning a dynasty or of upsetting a president. It was as the protector of clericalism and of the censorship of the press that Charles X. lost the crown; it was the agitation for electoral reform which overturned Louis Philippe; Louis Napoleon

might have suppressed every popular liberty with impunity had he only returned from the frontier victorious, and it was the fortune of war which destroyed the Second Empire. Under the Republic the crises which have stopped short of revolution, thus displaying the chief benefit of that régime, have been all due to diverse causes. The force which impelled Marshal MacMahon to resign was the growing contempt in the country for the ineptitude of the reactionary party and the rising cult for the genius of Gambetta; M. Grévy nearly had the honour of a revolution to escort him into private life, because his dingy failings were out of keeping with a periodic impulse of the nation towards the glitter of dictatorship; the attacks before which M. Casimir-Périer capitulated were based on the social question.

Is it therefore to be inferred that the French are as a nation prone to revolution and ungovernable? If each successive revolutionary movement had had the same direction, if it had been a violent manifestation of an identical doctrine, then it would be just to assume that the great upheaval of 1789 was still fermenting, and that revolutions would recur so long as any article of the Declaration of the Rights of Man was infringed. But the periodical disturbances which convulse France have nothing to do with the doctrine of 1789. No doubt the habit of insurrection was then acquired, and as the Revolution of 1830 was nominally directed against the heirs of the old Monarchy, the first of the series in this century took its place as the putative offspring of the great Revolution. But subsequently the Days of June which were the cause of Louis Napoleon obtaining the supreme power, the uprising which proclaimed his fall, and the rebellion

of the Commune had no more connection with the doctrine of 1789 than the Boulangist movement or the demonstrations of the new Socialists, which have more recently put ideas of revolution into men's minds.

When it is further considered that the vast majority of the French people is peaceable and industrious, it becomes clear that revolution is chiefly to be feared from the fitful discontent of the turbulent of Paris and of certain industrial centres. The best form of government, therefore, for France is the one which can best keep in hand that section of the population. Here, no doubt, the advantage of the Republican form becomes most apparent, not because it is the creation of 1792, but for the anatomical reason that its head is a removable accessory and not a vital organ. Hence the Republic, with its succession of Presidents, whom it can shed in turn without hurt to itself, would be the ideal régime for France if her children could divest themselves of their ever-smouldering desire for a hero to worship and a master to submit to. This latent instinct is the weakness of the Republican system; for it will not only kill it one day, but, meanwhile, it so alarms its defenders that they use all the force of governmental machinery to crush men of parts who seem apt to win popular favour. It was thus that Gambetta found the way to the Presidency barred for him; yet by cutting short his career his enemies nearly secured for France a worse fate than his dictatorship; for the people's desire to be governed was not buried with him, and but for his death General Boulanger would never have inspired a legend. It has become a commonplace to applaud the patriotism of the politicians who, aided by circumstances, ridded France of that soldier of fortune; yet no one

knows for certain that the country would have been worse off had he been called to power, and the government of the Republic since his day has not been so perfect as to make it impossible to conceive a better. Because he was a pitiful adventurer it does not of necessity follow that he would have been a bad administrator. We all have heard of the veteran miserably slain six months after attaining the supreme power, who would have been deemed to be "capax imperii nisi imperasset";[1] and there may be men who have just failed to reach success of whom an epigram in the converse sense might be made. The narrow escape which the country then had, makes the guardians of the Constitution take excessive precautions in overshadowing honourable achievements likely to win popularity; and the spectacle has been witnessed in Republican France of a General, returning home victorious after a colonial war, treated as though he were afflicted with an infectious disease certain to disseminate contagion and therefore to be kept from the sight and touch of his fellow-countrymen.[2]

If the Third Republic is fearful of paying excessive honour to its sons during their lifetime lest it should thus endow them with sufficient strength and prestige to overturn it, it has an original method of proving to the world that it is not barren in great men. It does not stint its funereal tribute to those who, having died in its service, can never become popular idols dangerous to the established régime. A stranger arriving in Paris and finding its monuments swathed in black, its boulevards lined with thousands of troops to salute in its

[1] Tacitus: *Hist.* i. 49.

[2] General Dodds on his return after the Dahomey expedition of 1892.

passage a pompous bier borne along to the martial music of an heroic march, asks why these trappings of woe, why this imposing pageant, deployed with all the art of which the French are masters, suggestive of a nation mourning its noblest son? Obsequies stately as these could only be offered to one who, in the hour of vicissitude, had done the country services like those of Thiers and Gambetta, or to an immortal genius like Victor Hugo. It cannot be that another President of the Republic has met with untimely death; and the last Marshal of France has still a short span to complete before he is borne to the Invalides with the supreme homage due to the distant memory of a once victorious army.

The name that the stranger hears on the lips of the crowd, which has the air of curiosity rather than of lamentation, conveys little to his mind, even though he be a student of European politics; and if he pursue his inquiries, he ascertains that this funereal parade, the like of which is seen in England only once or twice in a century when a Nelson or a Wellington is laid to rest, is in honour of a politician who has held office for two brief spaces in two ephemeral ministries, and who ended his career by presiding over the Chamber of Deputies for a few weeks: the total period of his office-holding having amounted to about one year. But even on the morrow when Parliament, despite a frugal protest, votes to the bereaved family a pension double that accorded to the widow of a Marshal of France, the country rests unconvinced of the greatness of the dead man thus glorified, only perceiving in its scepticism that under the Republic the most profitable of all pursuits is that of politics.

In spite of the efforts, both of the jealous and of the disinterested, the day will come when no power will prevent France from hailing a hero of her choice. Whether he will bear the name of a once reigning dynasty, or whether he will be a statesman to inspire or a soldier to lead to victory, the next generation will know. Judging from history it is unlikely that France will be appreciably happier or unhappier under the new régime than under past dispensations, and its duration could not be predicted even if its founder were revealed. It is possible that the present system under which France is governed is as effective as any other for producing the greatest happiness of the greatest number; but no country can remain in the first rank of European nations, in the sense that French temperament regards the first rank, without conspicuous leaders of men. In Switzerland individual well-being attains a high standard, and there the system of the impersonality of the government is so well carried out that the Presidents who succeed one another every year are individually as little known to fame in their country as are the Lord Mayors of London in our own; and it is probable that not one in a million of the strangers who visit the Helvetic Republic ever knows by name the President of the Confederation for the time being. But this sinking of personality will never suit the genius of the French nation. It was essayed in the Revolution, and the result was the greatest and most masterful personality that ever despotised—Napoleon.

That France should become a swollen Switzerland is not a prospect to appeal to patriotic sentiment, but there are worse fates awaiting democracies than the inglorious

prosperity of the federated cantons. The United States are as prosperous as Switzerland, and have with affluence become almost as barren in art and in letters, after an early season of wondrous literary promise. It is true that in that vast Republic the name of the President is familiar to every citizen; but his renown, while it affords no danger of dictatorship, does not make his office an object of ambition for the worthiest members of the community. The abstention from politics of the better types of Frenchmen combined with the growing materialism of the upper-classes of the capital, are symptoms which cannot be regarded with indifference, when the example of America, of too great influence in France, is contemplated. The dangers and difficulties which now beset peoples are of a different order from those which were apparent a hundred years ago when the calendar was dated from the new era of the change of things; but signs are not wanting that the French nation may need as strong a hand to guide it out of the nineteenth century as that of the First Consul which brought it thither.

INDEX

Abbaye, massacre of the, 222.
Aberdeen, Lord, 61.
Aboukir, battle of, 224.
About, Edmond, 40.
Academic Palms, 174.
Académie Française, 43, 52, 104–105, 139, 143, 214.
Acadia, 239.
Administrative system (*see also* Centralisation, Napoleon): identical all over France, 15; excessive number of Functionaries, 25, 33, 237; its strength makes up for bad political government, 44; founded by Napoleon, 21, 112–114; survives all régimes, 35, 124–126, 257, 269; the liberties of functionaries, 150–151, 160–161.
Africa, South, 107, 252.
Agincourt, battle of, 62.
Aigues-Mortes, 17.
Aix-en-Provence, 16.
Ajaccio, 30.
Alacocque, Marie, 17.
Albi, 239.
Alexander I. (of Russia), 46, 111.
Algeria, 13, 15, 17, 234.
Allies in Paris (1814–15), 46, 96, 111, 249–250, 256, 262.
Alpes Maritimes, dept. of, 14, 20.
Alsace-Lorraine, 28, 31, 47, 99, 215, 233, 251.
Amboise, 315.
America, United States of (*see also* Tocqueville), 1–3, 9, 61, 67, 194, 332; War of Secession in, 60, 221; constitution of, 265–266, 284; presidential elections, 309; spoils system, 285.
Ami du Peuple, L', 218.
Anciens, Conseil des, 272
Ancient Régime, 84, 87, 88, 98, 128, 158, 205; modern Parisian society compared with that of, 191–196; idea of patriotism under, 230–232.
Angers, 13.
Anglomania, 51, 193, 205.
Anglo-Saxon race, expansion of, 67, 233.
Angoulême, Duc d', 121.
Duchesse d', 121.
Annecy, 15, 17, 141, 143, 300.
Anti-clericals and anti-clericalism, 147–166; civil interments, 147; the Ferry Laws, 148; in the provinces, 149–155.
Arago, M. Emmanuel, 219.
Arcola, battle of, 107, 279.
Arles, 16.
Army, the French, 48, 53, 120.
Arnold, Mr. Matthew, 140, 145–146.
Artois, Comte d' (*see also* Charles X.), 117–118, 122, 232, 278, 324.
Assembly, Legislative, of 1791, 100.
Assembly, National, of 1789, 72, 100, 113, 168.
Assembly, National, of 1871, 28, 57; its composition and debates, 263, 264, 273; its powers and work, 265, 281.
Aulard, M., 135.
Aumale, Duc d', 52, 102.
Austerlitz, battle of, 87, 114, 120.
Austria, Anne of, 117.
Austro-Hungary, 68.
Authoritative government, agreeable to the French, 137, 244, 320, 328; necessary complement of centralised system, 33, 247.
Autun, 9, 107, 109.
Auvergne, 17.
Auxonne, 30.

Aveyron, dept. of, 16.
Avignon, 16.

Balzac, H. de, 184.
Barante, Baron de, 74, 184.
Barère, Bertrand, 77, 103.
Barodet, M., 275.
Barra, Joseph, 223.
Barras, 103, 107, 110, 119, 239.
Barre, Chevalier de la, 158.
Barrère, M. Camille, Preface.
Barry, Mme. du, 324.
Bartholomew, St., massacre of, 188.
Basses Alpes, dept. of, 21.
Bastille, fall of the, 90, 96, 99, 133–134, 168, 173, 198, 209, 221, 232.
Bazaine, Marshal, 280.
Beauharnais, Eugène, 69.
Béjarry, A. de, 224.
Belfort, 12.
Béranger, P. J., 124, 255.
Bernadotte, 69.
Bernard, St., 143.
Bert, M. Paul, 55, 148.
Berthier, Prince de Wagram, 110.
Bertin ainé, 163.
Berry, Duc de, 293.
Berry, the, 14, 207.
Besançon, 12, 99.
Bicêtre, 225.
Bill of Rights, 262.
Bismarck, Prince, 250–251, 275.
Blanc, Louis, 81.
Blenheim, battle of, 63.
Blücher, Field-Marshal, 250.
Boers, 252.
Boissy St. Leger, 110.
Bolingbroke, Lord, 145.
Bonapartists, 229; in Assembly of 1871, 263, 273, 277.
Bonaparte, family of (*see also* Napoleon), 30, 69, 74, 246.
Bonnat, M., 223, 323.
Bordeaux, 14, 35, 213, 273.
Borghese, Pauline, 7, 246.
Boscobel, 223.
Bossuet, 144.
Boulanger, General, 281, 294–297, 326, 328–329.
Bourg-en-Bresse, 11, 313.
Bourgeoisie, the: and the great Revolution, 82, 167–168, 305; and the Revolution of July, 2, 305; intermarriages with noblesse, 185; Radical and Socialist use of term, 194, 306, 313, 314; general modern definition, 313.
Bourges, 14, 314.
Boutmy, M. E., 261, 262, 266.
Bray, French Vicars of, 248.
Brest, 239.
Breton, M. Jules, 223.
Brie, the, 20, 57, 109, 254.
Brisson, M., 297, 305, 309, 314.
British Constitution, 46, 111, 115; effects of its imitation in France, 46, 246, 257.
Brittany, 13, 99, 156, 202, 231, 315.
Broglie, Abbé de, 229.
Broglie, Duc (Albert) de, 276, 287.
Duchesse de, 49, 116.
Brosses, C. de, 241.
Brown's *Estimate*, 241.
Browning, Mr., 255.
Brumaire, *Coup d'État de*, 93, 108, 109, 267, 272, 278.
Brunoy, seigneurie of, 279.
Brunswick, House of, 242.
Buffet, M., 12.
Bulwer, Henry (Lord Dalling), 199.
Burgundy, 17, 99, 231.
Byng, Admiral, 241.
Byron, Lord, 31, 76.

Cabinet Council, *see* Council of Ministers: Ministerial instability.
Calais, the loss of, 62.
Calas, Jean, 158.
Camargue, 16.
Cambon, M. Jules, 11, 38.
Cambronne, General, 249.
Campaign of France, 110.
Campo Formio, Peace of, 107.
Canada, 235, 239.
Candide, 240.
Canning, Mr., 253.
Capet, Hugues, 272.
Carcassonne, 14.
Carmagnole, the, 230, 306.
Carnot, Hippolyte, 103, 298.
Carnot, Lazare, 103, 297, 299, 307.
Carnot, M. Sadi, President of the Republic, 29, 104, 229, 272, 307, 315, 320; his election to Presidency, 297; career and character, 298 *seq.*; death, 304, 323.

Carrier (of Nantes), 217.
Casa-Bianca, Lucien, 224.
Casimir-Périer, M. J., President of the Republic, Prime Minister, 302–303; election to Presidency, 304; his antecedents, 305–307; his term of office, 306–309, 312, 315, 323, 327.
Casimir-Périer, family of, 305.
Cassagnac, M. P. de, 229.
Castellane, M. de, 282.
Castiglione, battle of, 115, 120.
Castlereagh, Lord, 253.
Cavaignac, General, 311.
M. Godefroy, 309–310.
Cawnpore, 221.
Centralisation (*see also* Administrative System, Napoleon): conforms to French needs and ideas, 34 *seq.*, 113, 244; incompatible with Parliamentary government, 33, 83; no likelihood of decentralisation in France, 34 *seq.*, 270.
Cevennes, the, 17.
Chabannes, Comte de, 209–210.
Chablais, the, 17, 144.
Challemel-Lacour, M., 94, 95, 105.
Chambéry, 21, 315.
Chambord, Comte de, 265; and the White Flag, 277.
Chantal, Sainte, 141.
Chant du Départ, 218, 223.
Chaptal, Collège, 201.
Charlemagne, the new, 120, 257.
Charles II. (of England), 63, 94, 223, 279.
Charles VII., 117, 152, 156.
Charles IX., 186.
Charles X., 78, 164, 276, 324, 325, 326; coronation of, 117, 118, 122.
Charlotte, Princess, 256.
Charmettes, les, 21.
Charollais, the, 17.
Charter of 1814, 46, 72.
Chartres, 15.
Chateaubriand, 184.
Châteaux, French, 8, 11, 13, 20, 51, 191.
Chénier, M. J., 217.
Chinon, 152.
Church, the: Concordat, 9, 112, 114, 138, 139, 156; character of clergy, 55, 56, 151, 159; 229; clergy before Revolution, 56, 74, 119, 216; and Revolution of 1848, 80; attitude to free-thought, 138–145; conflicts with Republic, 138, 286, 290; and Voltaire, 141, 145; and the Revolution, 160; the Seize Mai, 286; association with Monarchists, 291.
Church of England, 141, 142, 145–146, 151.
Cinq Cents, Conseil des, 272.
Civil burial, 147.
Civilisation: the progress of, causes greater changes than did French Revolution, 3, 192, 198, 257; permeation of, to humble classes, 205–207; old civilisation of France, 208, 257.
Claretie, M. Jules, 31, 104.
Clarke, Mrs., 253.
Clary, 69.
Class feeling, 201 *seq.*
Classification and formula, French tendency towards, 243, 245, 266.
Clemenceau, M., 7, 90, 91, 251, 297.
Clerical party, the Seize Mai, 286; alliance with Monarchists, 291.
Cléricalisme, Le, voilà l'ennemi, 160, 287.
Clermont-Ferrand, 17.
Clovis, 118, 188, 254.
Codes, the (Civil, Penal, etc.), 113, 129.
Colenso, Bishop, 143.
Collège de France, 19, 40, 146.
Colonies, British, 9, 67, 70, 235–236.
Colonisation, French, 232–239; restraints on, 234–235 *seq.*; effect of testamentary law, 236.
Comment on Christmas, 146.
Commission des Trente, 264.
Committee of Public Safety, 103.
Commune: insurrection of, 38, 57, 86, 146, 220, 225, 230, 250, 274, 275.
Condorcet, Lycée, 203.
Condorcet, Marquis de, 113, 128.
Congress for election of President of the Republic, 282–283, 294.
Coningsby, 198.
Constitution of 1848, 127, 263–264, 266.
Constitution of 1875, 127, 263–270; unlike all which preceded it, 264; without scientific interest, 265; articles relating to chief of executive, 282 *seq.*

Constitutional precedents, practice and law, 261 *seq.*, 272, 288, 300–302; no scientific study of, in France, 265; in England, 266; conception of unconstitutional conduct, 288–289.
Constitutional revision, 267, 290; in England, 268.
Consulate, the, 79, 88, 119, 272.
Conti, Prince de, 193.
Continental blockade, 130.
Contrat Social, 217.
Convention of 1792, 72, 77, 79–81, 91–92, 102, 110, 113, 168, 217, 264, 279, 310.
Convention, English Parliamentary, of 1688, 261.
Corday, Charlotte, 74.
Cordeliers, 92.
Corps Législatif of 1815, 261.
Corsica, 13, 30, 119.
Council of ministers (*see also* Ministerial instability), 283, 285, 288.
Coup d'État of 1851, 83, 220, 248, 267, 280, 292.
Cour de France, 111.
Cousin, Victor, 123.
Crécy, battle of, 63.
Creuse, dept. of, 14.
Crimean War, 59, 323.
Criminal procedure in France, 133–134.
Cromwell, Oliver, 62, 94.
Cruppi, M. Jean, 135.
Cult of the dead, 154, 228, 229.

Danish War, 60.
Danton, 74, 91–92, 135, 222.
Darboy, Archbishop, 225.
David, *Sacre de Napoléon*, 118–120.
Davout, Duc d'Auerstaedt, 182.
Dayot, M. A., *La Révolution Française*, 133.
"Days of June" (*see* Revolution of 1848), 82, 219, 327.
Declaration of the Rights of Man, 102, 138, 212, 221, 263, 272, 327.
Deffant, Mme. du, 198.
Deity, the name of the, 155.
Deschamps, M. Gaston, 133, 240.
Desmoulins, Camille, 105, 168, 170, 209.
Detaille, M., 223.
Deux Sèvres, dept. of, 20.
Dictatorship (*see* Authoritative government): the French latent liking for, 312, 318, 320, 328; official precautions against, 317, 329.
Diderot, 20, 89, 128, 195, 254.
Dijon, 17.
Directory, the, 74, 93, 95, 103, 106, 279.
Disraeli, Mr., 32, 198–199.
Dodds, General, 329.
Dôle, 153.
Domicile, violability of, 135.
Domremy, 12, 62.
Dossiers, 150.
Dowry, custom of, 197, 236.
Dragonnades, 154.
Drama, the French, 28.
Drouais, 324.
Drumont, M., 228.
Duelling, 209.
Dufaure, M., 265, 292.
Dufferin, Lord, 7.
Dumas fils, Alexandre, 28.
Dumouriez, 102, 124, 279.
Dupanloup, Mgr., 122, 139, 143, 145.
Dupuy, M., 301.
Duruy, Victor, 162.
Dutch in the Medway, the, 252.

École Normale, 203.
École Polytechnique, 203.
Education (*see also* University): the Professoriate, 54; in the Lycées, 132, 161, 201, 203; in Catholic schools, 161, 202; inculcation of equality, 202; schoolboy life in France, 132, 203.
Edward II., 261.
Egypt, Campagne of, 93, 107.
Eighteenth century (*see also* Ancient Régime): intellectual revolution of, 130; society of, 191–195; intellectual charm of, 195; idea of patriotism in, 230.
Elba, 123, 256, 279.
Eldon, Lord, 136.
Élysée, Palace of the, 295, 318.
Emigration, the, 16, 91, 121, 198, 205, 231.
Empire, Second, 95; effect of, on Napoleonic legend, 48, 124, 247; national character under, 27, 40, 48; its revolutionary tradition, 72, 75,

82–84, 93; Opposition under, 40, 84; and M. Taine, 85, 162; its disastrous fall, 48, 124, 250, 273; relations with the Church, 162, 164; and titles of nobility, 170, 179; and oppressed nationalities, 214.
Encyclical, Papal, of 1892, 14, 160.
Encyclopaedists, the, 39, 129, 130, 195, 231.
Enghien, Duc d', 125.
England and France: relations of, 59–64, 215; titles of nobility in, 171, 175–177; orders and distinctions in, 173; nomenclature in, 187; historical anniversaries in, 222; ideas of patriotism in, 233, 238; colonising spirit in, 235 *seq.*; effect of unsettled government in, 240–241; effect of geographical position on national temper, 249–253; modern historical associations in, 254–256; revolutions of, compared, 262; constitutional revision in, 267–268.
England, Queen of (*see also* Victoria, Queen), 318, 321–322, 325.
English revolutions: comparisons with, drawn by French Liberals, 40, 77, 78, 91; compared with French Revolution, 73, 262.
Épinal, 12.
Épinay, Mme. de, 195.
Equality, 167–212: under the Revolution, 167–170; French ideas of, 168, 208; titles of nobility, 169; orders and decorations, 171 *seq.*; Montesquieu upon, 200; in the schools, 201 *seq.*; superficial phase of, 204; the duel a symbol of, 209–210; railway travelling, 211.
Erfurt, 130.
Esprit critique, 25, 86.
Esprit de corps, 203.
Esprit des Lois, 200.
Executive power, the, 271 *seq.* (*see also* President of the Republic); attributes of chief of, 271, 282; character of chiefs of, since Revolution, 325.

Faubourg St. Germain, 178, 203: *see also* Noblesse, etc.
Faure, M. Félix, President of the Republic, 29, 155–156, 272, 325; his election to Presidency, 311; origin and career, 311–316.
Favre, M. Jules, 264–265.
Federation of 1790, 232.
Fénelon, 144.
Ferney, 142, 158, 195.
Ferry, M. Jules, 12, 148, 229, 240, 247, 251, 268, 289, 296.
Fesch, Cardinal, 119.
Feuillants, 92.
Feuillée, M. Martin, 268.
Feuillet, Octave, 28.
Filioque clause of the creed, 157.
Financial causes of the Revolution, 97–99, 167, 235.
Flandrin, Hippolyte, 323.
Flaubert, G., 208.
Floquet, M., 296, 297.
Fontainebleau, abdication of, 110, 278.
Fontenoy, battle of, 63.
Foreign relations (*see* England and France, Russian Alliance), 215; French popular interest in, 319.
Forez, 10.
Fouché, Duc d'Otranto, 107, 170, 279.
Foulon, Cardinal, 11.
Fox, C. J., 76.
Foy, General, 123.
France: the pleasantness of life in, 24, 44, 71, 235; the tranquillity of the people, 57, 328; their industry and thrift, 44, 58, 236; their orderly instincts, 243 *seq.*; its importance in the world, 67–77; cult of domestic affections in, 214; art in, 223; soil of, love of French for, 233, 239; treatment of fallen rulers of, 247; its modern historical associations, 254–257; reconstruction of (*see* Napoleon), 257.
France, M. Anatole, 45, 55.
Franche-Comté, 101.
Francis I., Emperor of Austria (previously Francis II., Emperor of Germany), 257.
Francis-Joseph II. (Emperor of Austria), 319.
Franco-German War, 45, 86, 153, 215, 220, 247, 250, 253, 273; its effect on French character, 27 *seq.*, 251, 253.
François de Sales, St., 143.

Frankfort, Treaty of, 27, 253.
Fraternity, 213–230; at the Revolution, 213, 216–219; harshness of French to French, 215 *seq.*; the cult of fratricide, 221 *seq.*
Freemasons, 154–155.
Freethought and freethinkers: attitude of Church to, 139, 141, 143, 145–146; influence of Voltaire, 142–143; intolerance towards religion, 148–166; in French provinces, 149 *seq.*
Fréjus, 106.
Freppel, Mgr., 7.
Freycinet, M. de, 294, 296, 297.
Friedland, battle of, 115.
"Friend of the foreigner," 252.
Frohsdorf, 276.
Froissart, 63.
Functionaries, *see* Administrative system.
Funeral honours paid to politicians, 329–330.

Gallicans and Gallicanism, 138, 140, 143, 148.
Galliffet, General de, 182.
Gallus Gallo Lupus, 215–220, 225, *see* Fraternity.
Gambetta, 41, 160, 183, 265, 273, 275, 284, 289, 310, 327, 330; his share in founding the Republic, 275, 289; the jealousy he excited, 292, 296, 303, 328; his occult power, 292.
Garat, 262.
Gavarni, 324.
Generalisation: inappropriate in a treatise on France, 4.
Genlis, Mme. de, 192.
Geoffrin, Mme., 198.
George III., 46, 195, 256.
Gérard, *Sacre de Charles X.*, 118.
Germany (*see also* Franco-German War), 12, 60, 247; prominence of, in the world, 68–71; German criticism and philosophy, 68, 143; French feeling towards, 214–215.
Girondins, the, 77, 81, 91, 92, 105, 168, 252; Lamartine's History of, 80, 81, 88, 89.
Gladstone, Mr., 75.
Goethe, 76, 130.
Gontaut Biron, M. de, 275.
Goritz, 325.
Grande Armée, 123.
Grandval, 20, 195.
Granville, Harriet, Countess, 249.
Gravelotte, battle of, 221.
Greece, 214.
Grenoble, 11, 274.
Grévy, M. Jules: President of the Republic, 278, 280, 291, 293, 312; election to Presidency, 291; his double term of office, 283, 294; his jealousy of Gambetta, 292, 303; his character, 295, 318, 323, 326–327; his fall, 295, 299, 324.
Gros Bois, Château de, 110.
Guadet, 81.
Guibert, Cardinal, 145.
Guizot, M., 40, 60, 80, 82.
Gunpowder Plot, 223.
"Gyp," 193.

Halévy, M. Ludovic, 19.
Hamerton, Mr. P. G., 10, 22.
Hampden, 78.
Hanotaux, M., 214.
Hanover, House of, 242.
Haussonville, Comte d', 182.
Hautes Alpes, dept. of, 21.
Havre, 311, 315.
Hemans, Mrs., 255.
Henri IV., 186.
Henry, M. Arsène, 21.
Hero-worship: the form it takes in France, 312, 317, 328; the means used to suppress it, 329.
High office in France the ruin of popularity, 296, 303.
Hoche, General, 255.
Hohenlohe, Prince, 254.
Holbach, Baron d', 20, 195.
Holy Alliance, 40.
Hortense, Queen, 246.
Hôtel Rambouillet, 51.
Hugo, Victor, 41, 63, 184, 325.
Huguenots, 17, 62.
Hugues, M. Clovis, 230.
Hulst, Mgr. d', 182–183.
Hundred Days, 111.
Hundred Years' War, 63.
Huxley, Mr., 142, 145.

Imperial, Prince (Louis Napoleon), 108, 278, 293, 310.

Improvisation, 243 *seq.*
India, French in, 235, 239.
Indian Mutiny, 221.
Indifference of French to public affairs, 36, 40, 58, 136, 154, 163, 247, 311.
Indre, dept. of, 14.
Ingres, 163.
Institute of France (*see also* Académie Française), 107, 113, 163, 195.
Intolerance, 138–166; ecclesiastical, 139–145; anti-clerical, 147–166; in England and in France, 137, 151; in provinces, 149–153; peculiarities of French, 152, 153, 157; official, 150, 154–155; and anarchy, 165.
Invalides, Hôtel des, 188, 323, 330.
Invasion, the phantom of, 250–253.
Invasions of 1814–1815, 110, 215, 249.
Ireland, Archbishop, 162, 164.
Ireland, invasion of, 262.
Isère, dept. of, 11, 21.
Italian nation, 61, 68; French feeling for, 215.
Italian War of 1859, 60.
Italy, Army of, 119, 225.

Jacobins, the, 78, 81, 94, 103, 105, 164, 165, 168, 216, 252.
Jacobites, 241.
James II., 63, 78, 249.
Jansenists, 138.
Janson de Sailly, Lycée, 144.
Janssen, M., 37.
Jemmapes, battle of, 102, 279.
Jena, battle of, 87, 95, 114, 120, 250, 254.
J'y suis j'y reste, 282.
Jesuits, 138, 202.
Joan of Arc, 62, 117, 152, 156.
Jocelyn, 81.
Jordan, the, 249.
Joseph Bonaparte, 111.
Josephine, Empress, 107, 119, 255.
Journal des Débats, 149, 163, 226.
Journalism, characteristics of French, 18, 29, 42, 135, 137, 150, 215, 218, 226–230, 298, 307, 316; at Revolution, 100, 218.
Juvisy, 117.

Khartoum, 240.

Kléber, Marshal, 255.

Laboulaye, M., 57.
Lacroix, 209.
La Fayette, 72, 100.
La Fontaine, 155.
La Hogue, battle of, 63.
Lally Tollendal, 81.
Lamartine, 72, 78–82, 101, 184.
Lamballe, Princesse de, 222.
Lamennais, Abbé de, 184.
Landes, dept. of, 14, 16.
Lanfrey, P., 124.
Lang-Son, disaster of, 240.
Langue d'Oïl, 63.
La Pérouse, 239.
La Rochelle, 14, 62.
Las Casas, 124.
La Trémoïlle, Duc de, 74, 186.
Launay, Governor de, 133.
Lavigerie, Cardinal, 13, 223.
Lavisse, M., 40.
Lavoisier, 128, 129.
Lebon, M. André, 240.
Le Creuzot, 10.
Legion of Honour, 113, 171–174, 295.
Legitimists, 169; in assembly of 1871, 263, 265.
Leighton, Sir F., 14.
Leipsic, battle of, 114.
Lemaître, M. Jules, 43–44.
Léman, Lac, 17.
Le Mans, 13.
Leopold II. (King of the Belgians), 319.
Leo XIII., 160.
Leporché, M., 155.
Le Puy, 17.
Leroy-Beaulieu, M. Anatole, 50.
Leroy-Beaulieu, M. Paul, Preface, 19.
Lettres de cachet, 133.
Liberals, the old, 164.
"Liberator of the Territory," 274–275, *see* Thiers.
Liberty, 127–166: French and English conceptions of, 128; connection with Revolution, 128 *seq.*; its theoretical study in France, 128, 131–132; personal liberty — untried prisoners, 132–135; violability of domicile, 135; liberty of opinion, 138 *seq.*; effect of sectarian subdivision on, 138 *seq.*; limitations of religious

liberty, 148–152; restraints imposed in name of, 157; restraints on, do not interfere with general happiness, 136, 164.
"Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," 127, 131, 213.
Limoges, 14.
Literature and Dogma, 140.
Literature: and French Society, 18, 50, 184; under July Monarchy, 184; in Grand Siècle, 242.
Littré, E., 139.
Local Government Board, 37.
Local Government, *see* Administrative system.
Lockroy, M., 188.
Loubet, M., 302.
Louis Napoleon Bonaparte (*see also* Napoleon III.), 80–83, 95, 112, 127, 137, 267, 272, 280, 290, 310, 324, 327.
Louis Philippe, 30, 34, 72, 78, 102, 122, 170, 247–248, 277, 324.
Louis XIV., 63, 154, 188, 215, 242.
Louis XV., 67, 239, 242, 267, 324.
Louis XVI., 78, 87, 100, 105, 117, 113, 122, 129, 195, 262, 264.
Louis XVII., 95.
Louis XVIII., 92, 95, 116, 170, 278, 305.
Lourdes, 14, 17.
Louvre, pictures in the, 118, 163, 193, 225, 324.
Luxembourg, Palais du, 121, 219; gallery of, 223.
Lycées, *see* Education.
Lyons, 11, 13, 16, 17, 38, 147, 154.
Lytton, Lord, 7.

Macaulay, Lord, 77–79, 91, 241, 261.
MacMahon, Marshal, President of the Republic, 29, 164, 182, 312, 320, 323, 327; elected to the Presidency, 275; his Septennate, 264, 278, 281, 282; the Seize Mai, 286–291.
Maine, Duchesse du, 192.
Malakoff, battle of, 282, 323.
Malesherbes, 128.
Malmaison, the, 119, 254.
Malmesbury, Lord, 95.
Malplaquet, 63.
Manhood Suffrage, *see* Universal Suffrage.
Manning, Cardinal, 7, 140.
Marat, 101, 209, 218, 222.
Marceau, General, 224–225, 255.
Marcus Aurelius, 153.
Marengo, battle of, 109, 120.
Marie Antoinette, Queen, 81, 117, 195, 256, 324.
Marie-Louise, Empress, 111, 123.
Marlborough, Duke of, 63.
Marly, 194.
Marmont, Marshal, 111, 279.
Marmontel, Marquis de Brunoy, 279.
Marseillaise, the, 76, 101, 225, 249.
Marseilles, 13, 35, 101.
Marshals of France, posthumous honours to, 330.
Martin, M. Henri, 105.
Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne, 154.
Massacres of September, 94, 222, 225, 230.
Masséna, Marshal, Duc de Rivoli, 255.
Maupeou, Chancellor, 267.
Mazarin, Cardinal, 63, 117.
Meaux, Vicomte de, 10.
Mecklenburg, Grand Duke of, 254.
Médicis, Catherine de, 188.
Memorial of St. Helena, 92, 124.
Menthon St. Bernard, 17, 143.
Mérite Agricole, 174.
Messidor, Decree of, 21.
Methodical spirit of the French, 243–245.
Methods of studying a foreign country, 1–6, 21–25.
Metternich, Prince Clement, 213.
Metz, 83, 280.
Meudon, 37.
Michelet, Jules, 17, 81, 104.
Middle-classes, *see* Bourgeoisie.
Ministerial instability under the Republic, 49, 292, 293, 302–303.
Ministries, *see* Council of Ministers.
Mirabeau, 87, 100, 129.
Moltke, Field-Marshal, 250.
Monarchists, their dissensions in Assembly of 1871, 263, 278; their political ineptitude, 276, 291; alliance with the clericals, 286, 291.
Monarchy of July (*see also* Louis Philippe, Orleanists), 2, 30, 34, 72, 77, 79, 93, 183, 184, 198, 267.
Monde où l'on s'ennuie, le, 28.
Moniteur, the, 262.
Monk, the tradition of, in France, 279–281.

Monopoly, Government, of tobacco, 136.
Mont St. Jean, *see* Waterloo.
Montalembert, Comte de, 11, 184.
Montals, Mgr. de, 280.
Montauban, 16.
Montesquieu, 130, 200, 213.
Montmartre, 20, 58.
Montpellier, 16.
Moore, Sir John, 255.
"Moral order," government of, 277 *seq.*
Morbihan, dept. of, 13, 202.
More, Mrs. Hannah, 255.
Mortier, Marshal, Duc de Trévise, 121.
Morvan, 10.
Moscow, 114, 257.
Moulins, 100.
Mulhouse, 12.
Mun, Comte Albert de, 7, 13, 51, 182, 183, 228.
Musset, A. de, 31, 184.

Nancy, 12.
Nantes, 14, 217.
Nantes, Revocation of Edict of, 149.
Napoleon: his attention to detail, 5, 244, 245; his fabric of centralized administration, 21, 34 *seq.*, 44, 83, 87, 112–114, 125, 152, 164, 257; his career, work, and character, 30, 95, 106–115, 256, 272, 325, 326; his coinage, 47; the son of the Revolution, 72, 92, 106, 117, 331; criticised by Taine, 34, 87, 113, 124–125; opinion on Robespierre, 92; on Duchesse d'Angoulême, 121; Napoleonic legend, 96, 123, 124, 246; reconstructor of France, 109, 122; organised the Revolution, 112 *seq.*, 117, 217, 245; coronation of, 118–120, 229; second burial of, 31; Imperial nobility, 169, 178, 180; Legion of Honour, 171; nomenclature of French citizens, 187; testamentary law, 199; his plan to invade England, 253; his magnitude a disadvantage for France, 271, 325, 326.
Napoleon III., 40, 83, 95, 170, 246, 250, 312, 324.
National defence, Government of, 273, 292; inquiry into acts of, 29.
Nelson, Lord, 256, 330.
Ney, Marshal, Prince de Moskowa, 121, 188, 219.
Nice, 20.
Nicholas I. (of Russia), 59.
Nicholas II. (of Russia), 46, 156, 157.
Nimes, 17; the Maison Carrée, 188.
Nineteenth century, close of, 63, 67, 74, 332.
Nivernais, the, 17.
"Noble birth," 177.
Noblesse, French, before the Revolution, 99, 177; abolition of privilege and titles, 169; reconstituted by Napoleon, 170, 178; under Restoration, 178; under Second Empire, 178; under Republic, 169, 175; decadence of noble class, 49, 51, 182, 196–200, 306; its Anglomania, 193, 205.
Nomenclature, State supervision of, 187.
Normandy, 6, 20.
Notre Dame de Paris, 118, 156, 229.
Nouvelles Couches, Les, 274.

Ollivier, M. Émile, 105, 179.
Opinion, public, in France, 136.
O. P. riots, 253.
Ordinaire, Dionys, 41.
Origines de la France Contemporaine, *see* Taine.
Orleanists (*see also* Royalists, Louis Philippe), 30; in assembly of 1871, 263.
Orléans, Duc d' (Philippe Egalité), 72, 102, 122.
Orléans, Duc d' (son of Comte de Paris), 69.
Orléans, Duc d' (son of Louis Philippe), 293.
Orléans family, 69, 122, 216, 277.
Orléans, Prince Henri d', 216.
Oxford, 128, 132, 140.

Pailleron, M., 28.
Palais Royal, the, 192.
Palmerston, Lord, 61.
Panama affair, 310.
Paray-Le-Monial, 17.
Paris, Comte de, 182, 186; his submission to Comte de Chambord, 277; and Boulangism, 281.

Paris: society of, 18, 48–52, 190, 191 *seq.*; intellectual work in, 19; its cosmopolitan aspect, 51, 193, 194, 197; opinion of the Boulevards, 137, 215; Municipal Council of, 222; the theatre of revolutions, 57, 327.
Parliament, English, 261; a labour-member of, in France, 306.
Parliamentary system: its effect on the spirit of the nation, 31, 39, 330; incompatible with centralised administration, 33 *seq.*; Parliament not used for quiet redress of grievances, 137; the power of the minority, 154; no real resemblance with its English model, 302; no names before constituencies at elections, 302; not suited to French temperament, 31, 308; rarity of business men in political life, 311.
Particule, the, 177, 201.
Pascal, 10.
Pasquier, Chancellor, 98.
Pasteur, M., 174, 196.
Patriotism, French: its connection with Revolution, 101, 230 *seq.*; before Revolution, 230; territorial rather than racial, 233, 238; and colonisation, 234 *seq.*; effect on, of unsettled government, 240 *seq.*; effect on, of fear of invasion, 250–253.
Peasantry, 9, 45, 56, 223, 227, 236; their love of the soil, 99; their civilisation, 205–206.
Peerage, English and French nobility, 176–177.
Perceval, Spencer, 256.
Perraud, Abbé C., 10.
Perraud, Cardinal, Bishop of Autun, 9.
Perreyve, Henri, 10.
Pessimism: its growth and phases in France, 25–52; its connection with civilisation, 26; with the Franco-Prussian War, 27, 29; with the system of French government, 32 *seq.*, 39 *seq.*; pessimist influences in France, 41–45, 50–52, 247–249.
Peut-on travailler en province, 19.
Picardy, 17.
Pitt, Mr., 176, 252.
Pius VII., 118–120, 257.
Plutocracy: its influence in French society, 192, 194, 197, 198–201, 258.
Pochon, M., 160, 313.
Poitou, 20.
Poland, 214.
Political eminence, jealousy of, in France, 292, 296, 303, 311.
Politics, French: and society, no relations between, 18, 52, 198; bitterness of, 29, 31, 218, 226, 229; unsoftened by national misfortune, 29, 239, 250; causes of political ill-temper, 240, 245, 249: abstention of the best class of men from, 36, 332.
Population, not increasing in France, 56, 67, 237.
Portraits of rulers of France, 322–324.
Praslin, Duchesse de, 80.
President of the Republic (*see* Executive, Thiers, MacMahon, Grévy, Carnot, Casimir-Périer, Faure), 271, 332; and the Church, 156–157; creation of office in 1871, 273; M. Grévy's early opinion on the office, 281, 292; mode of election under Constitution of 1875, 282; powers and prerogatives, 283–286; term of office and re-election, 283; his patronage, 285; right of dissolving and adjourning Parliament, 286; the nomination of ministers, 288; elections of, 282, 291, 293, 296–297, 304, 311; his action in Ministerial crises, 298 *seq.*; theory of his impersonality, 307, 315, 320–322, 331; anomalies of his position, 317; his relations with foreign governments, 318–321; ceremonious treatment of, 321–322; circulation of his portraits, 322.
Pretender, the Young, 256.
the Old, 241.
Prévost-Paradol, M., 40.
Prime Ministers of the Third Republic, 276, 302.
Broglie, Duc de, 276, 287.
Casimir-Périer, M., 302.
Dufaure, M., 288.
Dupuy, M., 301.
Ferry, M. Jules, 293, 296, 310.
Freycinet, M. de, 293, 294, 296.
Gambetta, M., 303, 310.

Loubet, M., 300, 302.
Ribot, M., 300, 302.
Rochebouët, General de, 287.
Simon, M. Jules, 285–287.
Waddington, M., 293.
Pritchard Affair, 61.
Privilege, before the Revolution, 98, 167, 170, 176, 188, 216.
Processions, religious, 158–159.
Protestants, French, 17, 139, 144, 147–148, 154.
Provence, 15, 215, 231.
Provence, Comte de, 280: *see* Louis XVIII.
Provincial France, 6–21; the charm of travel in, 8, 16; rarity of English travellers in, 14; intellectual work in, 19–20; intolerance in, 149–159; the clergy, 159; civilisation of humble classes, 205–206.
Public decency, 207.

Quakers, visit of, to Tsar Nicholas, 59.
Quimper, 156.

Radical party, 90–91, 96, 297.
Railway companies and the government, 211.
Rambouillet, 194.
Rambouillet, Hôtel, 51.
Reactionaries, *see* Monarchists, Legitimists, Orleanists, Bonapartists.
Reichstadt, Duc de (King of Rome), 95, 293.
Reims, 12, 117, 121, 156, 188, 254.
Rémusat, C. de, 184, 275.
Renan, M., 7, 19, 39, 196; his testimony to the clergy, 56; on the French Revolution, 104–105; and Matthew Arnold, 140, 146.
Representative government, *see* Parliamentary system.
Reprise de Toulon, La, 217.
Republic, First, 93–95, 101, 134.
Republic, Second, 13, 72, 76, 80, 83, 127, 263–265, 281, 292, 310.
Republic, Third, growth of Pessimism under, 27–31; its durability, 33; and the Revolution, 41, 93–94; strengthened by conduct of Reactionaries, 278; its origin, 94, 262, 273, 290; due to monarchical dissensions, 265, 278; personal liberty under, 135, 136; religious controversy under, 138; intolerance under, 149–161; tyranny of the minority, 154–155, 165; the church, 160; recognition of titles of nobility, 169, 181, 183, 188; literature and society under, 184, 198; public decency under, 207; its statesmen, 208; ministerial instability under, 292; posthumous honours to its great men, 329–330.
Republican form of government, advantage of, 324, 328, 331.
Restoration period, 86, 99, 116 *seq.*, 129, 219, 245, 279; its blitheness, 29, 123; the Liberals under, 40, 49, 91, 116, 123; its connection with Revolution, 72, 272; nobility under, 16, 169, 205.
Revision of Constitution, 268, 290.
Revolutionary Calendar, 75, 90, 95, 130.
Revolutionary movements in France, diverse causes of, 326–327.
Revolution of 1848, 80, 88, 219, 272.
Revolution of July, 2, 30, 93, 122, 219, 324, 326, 327.
Revolution of September 4, 1870, 250, 273, 291.
Revolution, the French, 2, 4; its chief result the centralised administration, 3, 19, 125, 257; and the Third Republic, 41, 94; and Modern France, 67–258; tradition of the, 41, 72 *seq.*, 85–90, 102; nature of its importance, 73, 257; our generation not remote from it, 75; attitude of English Whigs to, 78–79; Lamartine's glorification of, 80–82; Taine's criticisms of, 42, 85–90, 165; the "Block" theory, 91 *seq.*; period of the, 91–96, 116; its inevitableness, 97; suppression of privilege, 98, 167, 169, 188; swift spread of movement, 99; influence in, of abstract doctrine, 88, 97, 102, 103, 144, 216; destructive policy and anarchy of, 100, 105, 130; Jacobin conquest of, 165, 216; warlike and patriotic aspect of, 101, 106, 217–218, 230 *seq.*, 256–257; unwarlike aspect of, 103, 105; organised by Napoleon, 112;

his work alone survives of it, 125, 257; liberty under it, and inherited from it, 128, 132; its effect on religious intolerance, 139 *seq.*; and equality, 167–171, 209; abolition of titles, 169; and the society of the eighteenth century, 193–196; civilising consequences of, 207; and Socialism, 212; its doctrine of fraternity, 213, 218, 221 *seq.*; humanitarian doctrine of, 216–220; its heritage of unsettled government, 242–247; influence of, on colonisation, 235; pseudo-classicism of, 264; its connection with subsequent revolutions, 327.
Ribot, M., 300, 302.
Richard II., 261.
Rivoli, battle of, 95, 120.
Robespierre, 74, 92, 93, 102, 105, 168, 170.
Roche, M. Jules, 43.
Rochebouët, General de, 287.
Rohan, Duc de, 16; titles of, 202.
Rouget de Lisle, 101, 225.
Rousseau, J. J., 4, 21, 87, 100, 128–130, 141, 144, 195, 218.
Roux and Bouchez, *Histoire Parlementaire*, 85.
Royal families of Europe: their German origin, 69.
Royal Oak Day, 222.
Russia, 68.
Russia, Napoleonic wars with, 111, 114, 257.
Russia, relations of France with, 45 *seq.*, 60–62, 75, 156, 214, 251, 320–321, 323.

Sade, Marquis de, 133.
Sadowa, battle of, 48, 60.
St. Dié, 12, 253.
St. Étienne, 11.
St. Helena, 30, 108, 121; *Memorial of*, 92, 123.
St. Just, 75.
St. Simon, 169, 192, 230.
St. Sulpice, 146.
Sainte-Beuve, M., 41, 76, 81, 86.
Saintonge, 17.
Salon, the extinction of, 51, 192, 198, 199.
Samoyedes, the, 76.
Sand, George, 14.
Sanitary improvements, 207.
Sarcey, M. F., 41, 240.
Sardou, M., 90.
Sarthe, dept. of, 155.
Savoy, 16, 141, 143, 195, 299.
Savoy, House of, 69.
Say, M. Léon, 264.
Scepticism, political (*see* Pessimism), 163, 247, 330.
Schiller, 76.
Schneider, M. Henri, 10.
Schoelcher, M., 210.
Sebastopol, 323.
Sedan, battle of, 28–29, 48, 124, 221, 247, 254, 273, 277, 324.
Ségur, P. de, 184.
Seize Mai, the, 286–291; its constitutional aspect, 288.
Semaine de Mai, 221.
Separation of the powers, 271, 309.
Septennate, the, of Marshal MacMahon, 264, 278, 281–283.
Serment du Jeu de Paume, 169, 221.
Sévigné, Mme. de, 254.
Shelley, 255.
Sheridan, H. B., 76.
Sidney, Algernon, 78.
Sieyès, Abbé, 107, 108.
Simon, M. Jules, 75, 99, 147, 188, 228, 264, 285–287.
Smith, Sidney, 255.
Socialism: in Germany, 70; and the Revolution, 212; Socialist party in Parliament, 304, 308; attitude of Socialists to middle-classes, 306–307; their definition of bourgeois, 313–315.
Society, French, 18, 49–53, 191–198.
Soissons, 253.
Solferino, battle of, 215.
Soult, Marshal, Duc de Dalmatie, 121.
Spain, Invasion of, 112, 115.
Spanish Marriages, 61.
Spuller, M., 304.
Staël, Mme. de, 49, 91, 93, 94, 110, 115, 125, 224.
Stanislas, Collège, 201.
States-General of 1789, 96, 232, 305.
Strasbourg, 12, 99, 101.
Suffrage, *see* Universal suffrage.
Suffren, Bailli de, 239.

Sulpicians, 141.
Sweden, Kings of, 69.
Swiss Guard, massacre of, 102.
Switzerland, 172, 217, 331.

Tagus, the, 249.
Taine, M., 7, 15, 143–144, 147, 162, 196, 243; *Cornets de Voyage*, 5; *Origines de la France*, 17, 21, 42, 71, 85–90, 142, 165, 245; on Macaulay, 77; his influence, 41, 88; his method of work, 86–87, 89, 244; on Napoleon, 35, 87, 108, 113, 124, 130; on England, 5, 128, 132; on Voltaire, 142.
Talavera, battle of, 253.
Talleyrand, Prince de, 10, 46, 107, 111, 119, 122, 232, 279.
Tancred, 32.
Taxation, 23, 112; inequalities of, before the Revolution, 98–99, 167, 236.
Temps, Le, 149, 153, 155, 226.
Terror, Reign of (*see also* Jacobins, Thermidor, Robespierre), 91–92, 101, 103, 106, 128, 163, 168, 199, 213, 217, 230, 250.
Testamentary succession, law of, 200; its effect on colonisation, 236.
Théâtre Français, 90, 104, 113.
Thermidor, 75; Sardou's drama, 90.
Thiers, M., President of the Republic, 29, 51, 61, 86, 273 *seq.*, 312, 316, 323, 330; his share in founding the Republic, 274; his dismissal from the Presidency, 275.
Titles of nobility: abolition at Revolution, 169; under Republic, 170–171; attitude of Republic to, 181, 189; usage not regulated, 175, 177–181; consequences of multiplication of, 181–186; irregular assumption of, 179, 182, 186; in the army, 182.
Tocqueville, A. de, 184: compared with Arthur Young, 1–5; and the Revolution, 81, 93, 96; on Revolution of 1848, 83; *Démocratie en Amérique*, 1–5, 266–267, 269.
Toleration: in France and in England, 138, 145; need for, in France, 144; forces of, in France, 154, 163.
Tonkin, 240, 251, 296.
Toulouse, 14.
Toulouse, battle of, 62.
Touraine, 6, 17, 152.
Trade Unions, 151.
Trafalgar, battle of, 255.
Treaties with foreign powers, 319.
Treaty of Berlin, 320.
Trianon, 192, 325.
Tricolour, the, 72, 124, 277.
Tricoteuses, the, 101, 207.
Tronchet, 129.
Tuileries, the, Massacre of, 101, 222; *coup d'état* of Brumaire, 110.
Tyndall, Mr., 145.

Ultramontanes and Ultramontanism, 138, 144.
Universal suffrage (manhood suffrage), 34, 39, 47, 82, 85; and arbitrary government, 83, 94, 267–268.
"University," the (*see also* Education): decentralisation, 37; teaching body as a profession, 54, 204; organised by Napoleon, 113, 114.
Unsettled government: a heritage of the Revolution, 240–247, 257.
Uzès, Duc d', 188 *seq.*

Valence, 16.
Valley, Baronne de, 74.
Valmy, battle of, 98, 130, 279.
Valois kings, 90.
Van Loo, *Une halte de chasse*, 193.
Vannes, 13, 202.
Varennes, the flight to, 72.
Vauban, 230.
Vendée, the, 20, 150–151, 207; war of, 223–225, 233.
Ventavon, M. de, 263.
Vergniaud, 77, 82.
Vernet, Carle and Horace, 225.
Versailles, Court of, 87, 98, 188, 192, 195, 324, 325; galleries of, 120, 225; army of, 220, 230; Government and National Assembly, 289, 296; Peace of, 273.
Vesoul, 12.
Victoria, Queen (*see also* England, Queen of), 74, 242, 325.
Vienne, 16.
Vigny, A. de, 184.
Villaines, 152.
Villiers, Mr. C. P., 75.
Vizille, 305.
Vogué, M. de, 182.

Voland, Mlle., 20.
Voltaire, 5, 89, 128–130, 138–140, 158, 241; attitude of Church to, 141–145; his work, 142, 262.
Vosges, the, 12, 215, 253.

Waddington, M. Richard, Preface.
Waddington, M. W. H., 7, 293.
Wagram, battle of, 96, 253.
Walcheren expedition, 253.
Waldeck-Rousseau, M., 309.
Walpole, Sir R., 193.
War: French dread of, 38, 54; salutary effect of, on Revolution, 102 *seq.*, 217; civil, 60, 219–222.
Warens, Mme. de, 141.
Waterloo, battle of, 31, 60, 62, 63, 116, 219, 249, 255, 261, 279.
Wellington, Duke of, 256, 279, 330.
Westermann, General, 224.
Weymouth, 256.
Whigs, the English, 77–78, 255.
White Flag, 277 *seq.*
White Terror, the, 116, 219.
Wilhelmshöhe, 280.
William I. (German Emperor), 250.
William II. (German Emperor), 69.
William III. (of England), 78.
Wilson, M. Daniel, 295, 297, 326.
Women: in French society, 51, 197; have no rank or title from husband's decorations, 174.
Wörth, battle of, 27.

York, Duke of, 253.
Young, Arthur, 1–6, 99, 195.

Zola, M., 206–207.

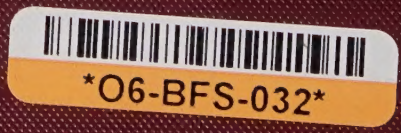
Date Due

MAY 2 2 '64
FEB 14 '65

Main JN2593 1898.B7
Bodley, John Edward Courtenay,
France
3 5108 00075391 3
DENISON UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

JN
2593
1898
.B7
v.1

19393


O6-BFS-032